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No. 1

EDITED BY

W. J. McGLOTHLIN, D. D.

- I. Sketch of the Life and Times of William Hickman, Sr., by W. P Harvey, D. D.
 - II. Subscription Paper of South Elkhorn Baptist Church, 1798.
 - III. A History of the Western Baptist Theological Institute of Covington, Ky., by W. C. James, Th. D.
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Preface

The following documents are offered to the public by The Kentucky Baptist Historical Society as the first of a series of similar papers illustrative of Kentucky Baptist history, which the Society hopes to publish from time to time. The first is a sketch of the life and work of one of the most important, if not the most important, of the pioneer Baptist preachers of the state.

The second is a reprint of one page of a subscription paper for a pastor's support in 1798. It is valuable as a witness to the religious customs of those early days. Three features of it are striking. One is the small amount of money and the large amount of provisions, etc., subscribed; another is the subscription of thirty-six gallons of whiskey to the pastor's support by three different brethren, who were apparently distillers. A third is the large number of brethren who could not write their names and therefore made their crosses. This church and pastor were no worse and no better than others of the Baptist and other denominations. As compared with the present, nothing could more strikingly illustrate the immense progress which has been made in these 112 years in temperance reform.

The third paper is the presentation of a forgotten chapter in Kentucky Baptist history, sad but instructive. Few institutions have opened with brighter promise or closed in such bitter failure. It is well to have its history preserved to us.

W. J. M.

Louisville, Ky., 1910.

Sketch of the Life and Times of William Hickman, Sr.

BY W. P. HARVEY, D.D.

Did Mr. Hickman preach the first sermon preached in Kentucky? The Baptists of this state celebrated their centennial in 1876. In the genesis of this movement it was believed that he did.

What I say on this subject is based on the autobiography of William Hickman.

His name and picture graced our centennial certificates. The claim was based on Mr. Lewis Collins' "History of Kentucky," published in 1847, page 112: "William Hickman as the first preacher in Kentucky claims our first attention." Again he says, volume 1, page 416: "In 1776 William Hickman commenced here his labors in the Gospel ministry. He was the first to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ in the valleys of Kentucky.

I now quote from A. C. Graves, D.D., "LaRue's Ministry of Faith," page 85: "Harrodsburg is the first settlement in Kentucky, and is also the oldest preaching point in the state. The first sermon ever preached in Kentucky was preached by William Hickman." Dr. Graves afterwards corrected this statement in a newspaper article.

HICKMAN NOT FIRST PREACHER.

William Hickman was not the first man who preached in this state. Collins' history, volume 1, page 441: "The Rev. John Lythe, of the Church of England, came early to Kentucky." Col. Henderson's convention met at Boonesboro, May 23, 1775, to organize proprietary government of lands he bought from the Indians. Sunday following, Collins' "History

of Kentucky," volume 2, pages 500 and 501: "Speaking of a large tree, Henderson says: 'This elm is to be our church, council chamber, etc.' Again: 'Divine services for the first time in Kentucky was performed by Rev. John Lythe, of the Church of England.'"

G. W. Ranck's "History of Boonesboro", published by Filson Club, page 30, agrees with the above statement. The sermon preached on Sunday after Henderson's convention adjourned was eleven months before Mr. Hickman was in Kentucky and heard Tinsley preach at Harrodsburg.

In preparing my centennial address that was delivered at the centennial meeting at Harrodsburg, May, 1876, I borrowed a copy of "The Life and Travels of William Hickman," from his grandson, W. S. Hickman. I quote from pages 8 and 9: "We got to Harrodsburg the first day of April, 1776. Myself, Brother Thomas Tinsley, my old friend, Mr. Morton, took our lodging at Mr. John Gordon's, four miles from town.

"Mr. Tinsley was a good old preacher, Mr. Morton a good, pious Presbyterian, and love and friendship abounded among us. We went nearly every Sunday to town to hear Mr. Tinsley preach. I generally concluded his meetings. One Sunday morning, sitting at the head of a spring at this place, he laid his Bible on my thigh and said, 'You must preach to-day.' He said if I did not, he would not. It set me in a tremor. I knew he would not draw back. I took the book and turned to the twenty-third chapter of Numbers and tenth verse: 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.'

"I spoke fifteen or twenty minutes, a good deal scared, thinking if I left any gaps down he would put them up. He followed me with a good sermon, but never mentioned my blunders."

Mr. Hickman was not a preacher when he first came to Kentucky on his tour of observation. I quote from Dr. J. B. Jeter's History of Baptists, according to Spencer's "History of Kentucky", volume 1, pages 12 and 13. Virginia Baptist Preachers, First Series, page 240: "William Hickman after

making a profession of religion visited the state of Kentucky. He went there in 1776, according to Elder John Taylor's 'History of Ten Churches'. He began to preach while he was there."

Daniel Boone was in Kentucky, May, 1769. 'Squire Boone, his brother, came soon afterwards. The brothers met accidentally January 1, 1770. They were natives of Pennsylvania, but came here from North Carolina.

According to Asplund's Register, there were 309 Baptists in this state in 1774. 'Squire Boone, a Baptist minister, was in Kentucky five years before Mr. Lythe. There may have been Baptist preaching before Henderson's convention, but if there was there is no authentic record of the fact.

Before returning "Life and Travels" to W. S. Hickman I had it copied with his consent.

Dr. Cathcart of Philadelphia proposed to buy it from me. I declined to sell, and gave it to him to "keep it in a fire-proof vault" on condition that I could get it, if I ever needed it.

When I learned that I was expected to prepare this paper, I wrote for it. The answer came: "It was lost when the American Baptist Publication Society building was destroyed by fire." By the kindness of Mrs. Josephine Hickman Walker of Denver, Colorado, I borrowed the original copy, the only one in existence that I know of. By the use of "Life and Travels"—Mr. Hickman's autobiography—I have been enabled to correct current history in regard to him being the first man who preached in Kentucky.

EARLY LIFE OF WILLIAM HICKMAN.

"Life and Travels," published 1828, two years before his death. Republished 1873. Contains thirty-five pages, and about 12,500 words. "A short account of my life and travels for more than fifty years, a professed servant of Jesus Christ. To which is added a narrative of the rise and progress of religion in the early settlement of Kentucky, giving account of the difficulties we had to endure, etc."

He was born in the county of King and Queen, Virginia, February 4, 1747. His father's name was Thomas Hickman, and his mother's name was Sarah Sanderson. "Both parents died young, leaving their orphan son and daughter to be cared for by their loving grandmother."

His "chance for education was very small, having but little time to go to school." He "could read but little, and hardly write any." At the age of 14 he was put to a trade with John Shackleford. Of his environments he says:

"I found them notoriously wicked. I soon fell into evil habits, for master, mistress, children, apprentices and Negroes were all alike."

His grandmother had given him a Bible with a charge not to neglect reading it, as he was accustomed to do when he was with her. After a while he neglected it, and left off praying, and learned to curse and swear. He says: "I went often to church to hear the parson preach (the Episcopal Rector) when he was sober enough to go through his discourse." "Life and Travels," pp. 1 and 2.

In 1770 he married Miss Shackleford, his master's daughter. "She was fond of mirth and dancing."

About this time he heard of the "New Lights," as the Baptists converted under Whitefield's preaching were called. (Spencer's History of Baptists of Kentucky, Vol. 1, p. 153). "Curiosity led him to go quite a distance to hear these babblers preach," ("Life and Travels," p. 2). He had said "that he was sure they were false prophets, and hoped he should never hear one." He went and "heard John Waller and James Childs, and the people relating their Christian experiences. God's power attended the word, numbers falling, and some convulsed, and others crying for mercy." He went home "heavy hearted". He told his wife what he had seen and heard. "She was disgusted for fear I would be dipped, too". "She tried to keep me from going the next day to see the converts baptized." He did go, and tells "a good many tears dropped at the water and not a few from my eyes" ("Life and Travels", p. 3).

He and his wife moved to Cumberland County. His serious impression passed away and he says: "I yoked myself with a parcel of ruffians and took to dissipation" ("Life and Travels", p. 4).

Soon he attended another Baptist revival. Many of his neighbors were converted, also his wife. She made a profession in his absence from home. He was displeased and told her to go and see Parson McRoberts (Episcopal clergyman) "that he would convince her that infant baptism was the right mode". She replied "that she was fond of hearing him preach, but that she would not pin her faith to his sleeve". For months he kept her from being baptized ("Life and Travels", p. 4).

HIS INVESTIGATION AND CONVERSION.

He decided to examine his Bible and pray for God's guidance. As usual in such cases, he became convinced that the Baptists were right. He says: "I submitted and saw my wife buried with Christ in baptism." Soon afterward he heard David Tinsley preach from Daniel, v. 27: "Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting." He adds: "It was a glorious day to me, for God made use of it to show me what a wretch I was." The minister illustrated by supposing a man in debt to a merchant 500 pounds, and he has nothing with which to pay, and he should say to the merchant, "I will pay as I go." Would that satisfy the merchant? No, he would take him by the throat and say: "Pay what thou owest." He "then calmly explained how we are indebted to God's righteous law, and that if we could live as holy as an angel in Heaven to the end of our days, how could we atone for all our past sins?" He said, "God's Holy Spirit, I trust, sent it home to my heart." After conflicting emotions he was led to the proper view of the plan of salvation. He says: "I heard no voice, nor was any Scripture applied."

In this respect his Christian experience differed from those who imagined they heard a voice. His joy was unspeakable, and to him it seemed that everything praised God. This was

February 24th, 1773 ("Life and Travels", pp. 4 and 5). April following, he was baptized by Reuben Ford, who had baptized his wife the fall before. He and the other converts organized a prayer meeting, eight men besides himself, and women, and young folks. In a few years the result was the organization of Skinquarter church, and the nine men all became ordained ministers ("Life and Travels", pp. 6 and 7). Noble example for young converts. When Buffalo Lick Baptist church, Shelby County, Ky., celebrated their centennial recently it was said that the church existed for twenty-seven years without a pastor, and that they looked after each other.

WILLIAM HICKMAN VISITS KENTUCKY.

In the spring of 1776 he "heard of a country called Kentucky". He and five others came to Kentucky, viz., Geo. S. Smith, Edmund and Thomas Wooldridge, William Davis and Jesse Low. "Three other men joined them in the back part of Virginia". "Three of our number were Christians, and we resolved to go to prayer every night. Our new companions in their hearts opposed it, but they submitted and behaved well."

The journey was difficult and perilous. "The road was a rugged, small, narrow path, over mud, logs and high waters". When they reached Crab Orchard, Ky., some of the party filed off to Boonesboro, and the rest went on to Harrodstown, now Harrodsburg. He exclaims: "Here we discovered a wonder, when we came to the beauty of the country. I thought of the Queen of Sheba who came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and she said the half had not been told, so I thought of Kentucky. I thought if I could only get ten acres of land I would move to it" ("Life and Travels", p. 8). "On account of conflicting titles to land, whether Henderson rights or Cabin rights would stand in law", Mr. Hickman says, "our tour answered us but little good or advantage."

MR. HICKMAN RETURNS TO HIS HOME.

He left his home in Virginia, Feb. 23, 1776, and arrived in Harrodsburg, April 1. The journey lasted for thirty-six days. He remained sixty days in Kentucky, and started home June 1. He reached his home the 24th. In all, he was out about four months, and finds his family and friends well. When did he begin? To the joy of his brethren he continued preaching, and many successful revivals crowned his labors. He conducted the funeral of an old lady "who was buried on the church acre". "The holy acre", meaning the consecrated burial ground of an Episcopal church, in which only Episcopalians were expected to be buried, and on which preachers of other denominations were not allowed to preach—so he had to "preach outside". When he started home the gentleman (who was her son-in-law) who engaged his services, gave him two six-dollar bills. He told the man he never charged. The man replied that he knew it, but he wished him to accept it as a gift. He took it. Mr. Hickman says: "It was the first penny I ever received in my life that way, and I was particular to let him know that if I took it at all, it was as a gift and not a charge."

He says: "I went home with money thoughts. What, a money preacher! I looked and felt so little like it." ("Life and Travels", p. 14). The Baptists of Virginia at that time had as their battle cry, "A free church and a free Gospel."

That slogan finally downed the hireling clergy and the established church of Virginia. Mr. Hickman had his misgivings about accepting money as a gift. Well he knew that he could not afford to subject himself to the charge of inconsistency.

The Baptist preachers paid a high price for being loyal to their convictions. They laid themselves, their wives and children on the altar in order to win one of the greatest moral victories of the ages. When the friends of the established church realized that it was doomed, there was a proposition to establish all churches, letting each taxpayer designate the church his

tax for religion was to go to. Patrick Henry was an advocate of this proposition, and a "general tax bill was proposed in the Legislature".

The Hanover presbytery up to this time stood by the Baptists, but now they faltered under the leadership of Patrick Henry, and favored the General Assessment Bill. In their meetings resolutions were passed, and they signed petitions in favor of the bill. Prof. James says ("Struggles for Religious Liberty in Virginia", p. 135):

"When the Legislature of 1784 adjourned the Baptists of Virginia stood alone as a denomination in opposing the general assessment and kindred bills, and the outlook was not bright for the triumph of their principles."

Mr. Hickman tells of a young man who engaged him to preach his father's funeral. The time was set. Previous to this he met the young man at a night meeting and the young man took him aside and told him that he had heard that he charged for conducting funerals, and that he was not able to pay. Mr. Hickman asked him for his author, but he would not tell. Mr. Hickman told him he had never charged a penny in his life, and explained about the two six-dollar bills that had been given to him. "Well," said the young man, "if you do not charge you may preach it." The sermon was preached, but he had to do it outside "the holy acre."

In those days Mr. Hickman says ("Life and Travels", p. 15): "Baptists were despised, which caused Christ's sheep to huddle closer together, and love each other better than when there was no opposition. A little before this time eight or nine Baptist ministers were put in jail at different times and places." All over Virginia Baptist preachers were often in jail for preaching Baptist doctrines. They preached through the grates and hundreds were converted. Persecutors have been blind and have not learned "that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church". Persecution has been the thorny path by which martyrs attained canonization. It is the way to make our robes white in the blood of the Lamb, and eternal glory is the result of trials and tribulations.

William Hickman was ordained to the full work of the ministry in 1778 by Geo. Smith and James Duprey, when he was thirty-one years old, and two years after he began preaching. His services were in great demand and his success in winning souls to Christ was phenomenal.

He tells of a father who drove his daughter from home because she was converted and baptized. When he was from home his wife came to Mr. Hickman's home with her pack under her arm, and after relating a satisfactory experience, he and his wife took her to the water and baptized her. Her husband did not find it out for two years. When the Lord's Supper was observed, she would be in a dark corner covered with a big handkerchief, in order to conceal her identity. The deacon who waited on her was posted.

He tells of two preachers who arraigned a young lady before the church on "the charge of wearing stays, they being in fashion in those days". Bro. Hickman defended her from being excluded ("Life and Travels", pp. 19 and 20).

WILLIAM HICKMAN DECIDES TO MOVE TO KENTUCKY.

On August 16, 1783, he announced he would start August 16, 1784, and he did. His farewell sermon at Skinquarter was a disappointment to him. "Several preachers were present, and it was a time of weeping." Some friends followed him a day or two, and Geo. Smith accompanied him about one hundred miles. "We brought plenty of provisions and drove two cows, to furnish milk for the children and cream for his wife's coffee". ("Life and Travels" pp. 19 and 20.)

"It rained almost every day. Waters were deep, and no ferries. We were wet day and night." After the toilsome journey of eighty-four days, they arrived at Mr. Smith's cabin, Garrard County, November 9, 1784. "Wet, dirty, poor spectacles we were, but thank God all in common health, the Lord was with us through the whole journey." The next day was Sunday, and there was an appointment for preaching at Smith's. There were three other preachers and they would

have Hickman preach. He took his text from the fourth Psalm: "The Lord hath set apart him that is godly for himself." He says: "I was followed by a Methodist preacher, Mr. Swope."

Elder John Taylor came from the north side of the river and preached at Bro. Robertson's. William Bledsoe was also there. Taylor's text was, "Christ is all in all". Hickman writes: "I fed on the food. It was like the good old Virginia doctrine."

April 5, 1785, he moved near Lexington, and he and his wife joined Lewis Craig's church, South Elkhorn, the fourth Saturday in April, 1785. He adds: "In the fall, Elkhorn Association was formed in the house of John Craig on Clear Creek." The Gospel began to spread and many churches were constituted. Four of Mr. Hickman's children were converted and joined South Elkhorn church.

William Hickman moved to Forks of Elkhorn, January 17, 1788. Leading citizens had persuaded him to locate among them. Unknown to him until afterward, they arranged to make him a present of one hundred acres of land. His preaching was greatly blessed, and resulted in many conversions, and the constitution of the Forks of Elkhorn church the second Saturday in June, 1788, with him as pastor, which position he held until his death in 1830, with a slight interim of about two years. His zeal for soul winning knew no bounds.

His missionary tours extended in all directions. The greater the destitution and the greater the danger, the more attractive to him. What is now Shelby County was then a wilderness, sparsely settled and full of roving bands of savages, but the tomahawks and the scalping knives were to him no terror. He tells of one of his frequent missionary tours to Shelby County.

He and his guard crossed the Kentucky river at Frankfort in a small canoe one at a time, swimming their horses; when all crossed they saddled the horses. The moon was shining and it was snowing. On their journey they crossed Benson Creek nineteen times. At some fords the ice would bear them,

and at others the horses would break through. They found empty cabins. The occupants had either been killed by Indians or driven away. They reached the fort about 2 a.m. The old gentleman who kept the fort was away from home, and his wife had the "fort well barred", and thinking they were a decoy of Indians, she would not admit them. Finally they convinced her, and she let them in. "She raised a good fire, gave them something to eat, and put them to bed." Next morning runners were sent out to the forts, and a congregation was gathered. There was a church, known as Brashear's Creek, near Shelbyville, constituted with eight members about two years before, but they were scattered by the Indians. He remained some time preaching from fort to fort. With his bodyguard of armed men, he used to say "it looked more like going to war than preaching the Gospel". They implored him to locate among them, but because of his devotion to Forks of Elkhorn, he could not consider it. On one of his tours he took John Morris who located among them and did fine work. Speaking of Morris who located in Shelby County, he says: "Many a tour I took with him, long circuits round, 'till at last I concluded they were well supplied, and I gave out going so often; but now I know of no county in the state so well supplied as Shelby—flourishing churches and good ministers. Great changes have turned up in thirty years; I went in the front through cold and heat, in the midst of danger, but my Lord protected me till now. Blessed be his name." ("Life and Travels", p. 20).

WILLIAM HICKMAN STARTS HOME TO VIRGINIA.

William Hickman started June 1, 1791, to visit his old home and friends in Virginia. He traveled through several counties, preaching wherever he went. Friends manifested their love by throwing presents in his way, for which he was thankful to God, and then, after an absence of five months, he returned to his home in Kentucky and found his family and his brethren well. Soon he was invited by Mr. John Scott, grandfather of Col. Tom. Scott of Forks of Elkhorn, to preach

in his neighborhood in Scott County. He made several visits, converts multiplied and McConnell's Run church was constituted, now known as Stamping Ground, of which he was pastor for fourteen years.

He rejoices that he has had a glorious revival in his Forks of Elkhorn church. He "baptized more than five hundred at different places, in two years" ("Life and Travels", p. 32). Many new churches were organized, resulting in many members withdrawing from his church. Decline in membership distressed him, but he was consoled that they built a new brick meeting house.

Behold the grand old pioneer, over four-score years old. He is not an object for alms or pity, but a man that all must admire. Listen to him: "I am in my eighty-first year and have a greater charge on me than ever I had. Besides Forks of Elkhorn, I am pastor of three other churches, taking all of my time, but I want to spend my latter days to God's glory. I enjoy common health through the goodness of God. I have come nearly to the end of my privilege. I do believe in the true evangelical doctrines of the cross of Christ, and that I am a poor sinner of Adam's fallen race, believing the great God knew me from eternity, and included me as one of his purchases. In time he called me by his Spirit, and made me willing in the day of his power, for it is by grace I am saved, through faith, that not of myself. Therefore, he deserves all the glory" ("Life and Travels", p. 34).

This was the kind of theology he lived by, wrought by, and died by. In the fall of 1830 he visited his son, William, pastor at South Benson. After preaching, he started home, accompanied by his son, William. When he reached Frankfort he was unable to go further and stopped at the house of a friend. As he rested on a pallet talking of his trust in Jesus, he grew weaker until he was silenced in death. He is buried at Forks of Elkhorn. When he was seventy-six years of age, Elder John Taylor, author of "History of Ten Churches", says, pp. 48 and 49: "No man in Kentucky baptized so many people as this venerable man. He walks as erect as a palm tree, being

at least six feet high, rather of a lean texture. His style of preaching was in plain, solemn style, and the sound of it, like thunder in the distance, but when in his best mood, it sounded like thunder at home and operates with prodigious force on the consciences of his hearers." He was a loyal and consistent Baptist, and lacked patience with the extremest, self-assumed standards of orthodoxy. He tells of a Baptist preacher of this class he met at Marble Creek church, now East Hickman, Fayette County, who hurt his feelings. "How could we expect any better from such a man?"

Mr. Hickman organized twenty churches. He was the arbiter of peace among his brethren. His first wife was Miss Shackleford. Thirteen children were born to them. She died June 9, 1812, sorely distressed in mind about the massacre of her son Pascal at the battle of the River Raisin.

Hickman County was named in his honor. His second marriage was December, 25, 1814, to Mrs. Elizabeth Abbott. Three children were born to them. She died Sep. 21, 1826.

NEW FACTS IN HISTORY.

Before closing this paper I must tell of that which caused him great trouble. In his "Life and Travels" he does not allude to it. John Taylor must have known it, and he does not mention it. Dr. Spencer heard that there was something, but his account is incomplete and inaccurate in details. In order to account for the event that has not been given to the public an explanation is in order. Bear in mind that Kentucky was a part of Virginia until 1792. Questions that were agitated in Virginia were discussed and agitated in Fincastle county of Virginia. There was a memorable meeting of Baptists at Williams' meeting house, Goochland county, Virginia, March 7, 1778, a meeting that deserves to rank with that at Runnymede in 1215 A.D., when the barons of England wrenched from the iron grip of King John the Magna Charta; a meeting pregnant with the same invincible purpose as that of Philadelphia in 1776, when the immortals signed the Declaration

of Independence. That was with a contemptuous sneer styled (according to Prof. Jesse B. Thomas, D.D.) by the tyrants of Europe "an Anabaptist document". Let it be known and never be forgotten that Baptists through the ages have been the persistent and uncompromising champions of civil and religious liberty. Well does Bancroft, in creed a Unitarian, say (vol. II, p. 66), "Freedom of conscience, unlimited freedom of mind, has been from the first the trophy of the Baptists."

With the Baptists of Virginia soul freedom was the reward of eternal vigilance and self-sacrifice. Like the heroes who scaled 203 Meter Hill at Port Arthur, they resolved to conquer or die.

Two great questions were discussed for three days. First, shall we favor or oppose the ratification of the Federal Constitution? Unanimously they decided to oppose it, and nominated Elder John Leland for the legislature to vote against it. Their reason was that the Constitution contained no guarantee against the establishment of a national church.

Laws in all the colonies except Rhode Island, New Jersey and Pennsylvania had discriminated against Baptists religiously and politically and their long suffering and bitter experience put them on their guard.

The first petition presented to the Continental Congress in 1776 was by a committee composed of the Rev. Isaac Backus, and President Manning, of Rhode Island College, now Brown University, appointed by the Warren Baptist Association of Rhode Island, praying for the removal of civil and religious disabilities. As a result we have the sixth article of the Constitution of the United States: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the United States." Good so far, but the Baptists of Virginia in those days were not modest in their demands. Mr. James Madison, who wrote the Constitution, favored the ratification. On his return from the East he spent a half-day with Elder Leland. After fully explaining his position, he convinced Mr. Leland that while it was not all that was desired,

it was too much to run the risk of losing, for unless Virginia ratified it, it could not become the law of the land.

HELD BALANCE OF POWER.

The Baptists held the balance of power in Orange county, and the election of Mr. Madison to the convention depended on the withdrawal of Mr. Leland from the race. Mr. Leland declared in favor of Mr. Madison who was elected. The Federal Constitution, after a hard struggle, was ratified by a majority of 10. Mr. Madison was elected to Congress and, true to the faith and hopes of the Baptists, the amendment desired by the Baptists was offered by Mr. Madison January 8, 1789. It was the first amendment to the Constitution, and was adopted September 25, 1789, and reads as follows: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Quoting from Dr. H. M. King's "Religious Liberty," page 113, who quotes from Appleton's New Encyclopaedia: "The article on religious liberty in the amendments to the American Constitution was introduced into it by the united efforts of the Baptists in 1789." Alone Baptists could not have done all credited to them. We had powerful friends, e.g.: Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Patrick Henry, Gen. Washington and myriads of sympathizers in the struggle, and above all, God. Baptists were the pioneers—the agitators—the consistent forerunners.

H. M. King, D.D., "Religious Liberty" p. 113, says that "Judge Story in his commentary on the Constitution says that at the time this amendment was adopted it was the genuine if not universal sentiment in America that Christianity ought to receive encouragement by the state."

This amendment sounded the death knell of the unhallowed union of church and state, not only in the United States, but on the Western Continent, and inaugurated a holy crusade against all forms of ecclesiastical despotism all over the world.

The second great question discussed at that memorable

meeting at Williams' meeting house, Goochland county, was emancipation. August 8, 1789, the Baptist general committee of Virginia met in Richmond. "The property of hereditary slavery was taken up at this session," Mr. Semple (the Baptist historian) says: "And after some time employed in the consideration of the subject, the following resolution was offered by John Leland, and adopted: 'Resolved, that slavery is a violent deprivation of the rights of nature, and inconsistent with a Republican government, and therefore recommend it to our brethren to make use of every legal measure to extirpate this horrid evil from the land, and pray Almighty God that our honorable Legislature may have it in their power to proclaim the great Jubilee consistent with the principles of good policy.'"

Dr. Spencer said in "History of Kentucky Baptists", pp. 184 and 185, in 1880: "Whatever may be thought on this subject now, it cannot be denied that the Baptists of ninety years ago were strongly opposed to slavery. They are entitled to honor or reproach of being the first religious society in the South to declare explicitly in favor of the abolition of slavery."

In 1791 slavery agitation reached Kentucky. The Baptist associations of Kentucky kept up a correspondence with the general committee of the Virginia Baptists, by letters and messengers, and were posted on all their proceedings. Many of the Baptist preachers became radically opposed to slavery, and favored emancipation. Mr. Hickman spent five months in Virginia this year, and he came home full of it. For thirty years the subject wrought havoc in our churches. Emancipation churches were organized and formed into emancipation district associations.

In 1805 a resolution was adopted at a meeting of Elkhorn Association at Bryants (calling a halt on the agitation) viz.: "This association judges it improper for ministers, churches or associations to meddle with emancipation of slavery, or any other political subject, and as such we advise ministers, churches and associations to have nothing to do therewith in their religious capacities."

This resolution gave great offense to the emancipation. "Even the laborious and earnest William Hickman was carried beyond the limits of prudence." On the "last day" that same year he preached at Elkhorn, of which he was a member and pastor, text, Isaiah 58:8, "Is not this the fact that I have been chosen to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke." This sermon, says Theodore Boulware, "was disingenuous and offensive. The speaker declared nonfellowship for slaveholders." A few days afterward he wrote a letter to the church declaring his withdrawal. John Shackelford was called to the pastoral care of Forks of Elkhorn church for one year. Before his time was out Mr. Hickman returned and gave satisfaction to the church, and when the year was out resumed its pastorship. The above incident is taken from Dr. Spencer's history.

"The Minutes of the Forks of Elkhorn Church", kindly loaned to me by Dr. J. R. Sampey, the present pastor, do not accord with Spencer's account. The sermon stirred up a church crisis. I quote from church minutes, page 821: "Second Saturday in December, 1806, a charge against William Hickman for inviting Carter Tarrant to preach at his home after being excluded for disorder in Hillsboro church". The church took the question, is it right to invite an excommunicated minister to preach? Answered by a majority of three-fourths, it is not. Second, five said Brother Hickman had erred, eight said he had not."

They loved him, and even if they differed with him in judgment, they made the allowance that true love required.

Did Mr. Hickman write a letter of withdrawal from the church? The church record does not sustain it. I quote from church minutes:

"The second Sunday in September, 1807. After divine services, proceeded to business. Bro. William Hickman came forward and informed the church that he was distressed on account of the practice of slavery, as being tolerated by the members of the Baptist Society, therefore, he declared himself

no more in union with us and Elkhorn Association. Therefore, the church considers him no more a member in fellowship. This was nineteen years after he became pastor. Alas for human frailty and inconsistency."

The above act was nineteen months after his Thanksgiving sermon.

According to church minutes, we will see that John Shackelford was called to the pastorate for one year, and before the year was out, he was engaged for another year. "Second Saturday in January, 1808. Brother John Shackelford made choice of as minister to preach and administer the ordinances of this church, and that he be requested to attend us one year, on our monthly meeting days, and as he can make it convenient." Quoting from minutes, p. 102: "Second Saturday in October, 1808. Committee to talk to Bro. John Shackelford and see whether he will attend the church one year more on the same principles he has done the preceding year and report to the church.

"4. The men appointed to talk to Bro. Shackelford report to the church, that he is willing to attend this church the ensuing year on the same principles he did the preceding year." He was called and accepted as pastor the second year. He was pastor from January, 1808, to December, 1809. He was pastor one year and eleven months.

According to church minutes of Forks of Elkhorn church, page 106: "The second Sunday in November, 1809, William Hickman came forward and offered his membership and after some conversation, he was restored to membership and his former standing."

According to church minutes Hickman ceased to be moderator of the church from the first Saturday in August, 1807, to the second Saturday in December, 1809. If he ceased to be pastor, when he ceased to be moderator, which is probable, he was out of the pastorate about two years and three months. He saw those who had been converted under his ministry, alienated and ungrateful to him. Relations that had been the dearest of earthly ties, were broken. Suspicion took the place of confi-

dence, and love was dethroned by misgivings and distrust. Some who had been enemies and jealous of him rejoiced in what they considered his downfall. The church that he loved better than his life languished, and the lost were neglected. Through the ages, Baptists have been proscribed and persecuted, and sad to tell, that some misguided Baptists have been almost as cruel and unmerciful to each other as those of other creeds have been to them. Many of the leading statesmen, and the Baptists, registered their protest against slavery over one hundred years before the immortal Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation!

Mr. Hickman puts himself on record as a conscientious Christian and against an evil that he regarded as colossal, and sooner or later destined to threaten the existence of the Union. Seeing that the agitation was premature, and at the time hopeless, without apology or retraction, for the sake of peace among the churches and his own usefulness, he left the matter with God, who in his own time and way brought about the emancipation of slavery, thus vindicating the wisdom and foresight of his servant. We are thankful for our schools and colleges, and our great theological seminary, the spiritual lighthouse of our Southland. We rejoice that we have men trained in the highest and best learning, but far be it from us to fail to honor our sainted pioneers.

In their abject poverty and with their meager opportunities, regardless of hardship and danger, they planted the Gospel in the dark and bloody ground. They sowed in tears, and we are reaping with joy. They laid the foundation deep and strong, on which we are building. They courted not the favor of the world nor feared its frown. They contended not for an earthly but for a heavenly crown. They generally supported themselves, taking the Apostle Paul as an example, who made tents for a living when it was necessary to do it. In no other way could the poor in those days have the Gospel preached to them. Let us not forget that there are sections in almost every part of Kentucky dependent upon poor, self-

sacrificing men who have to supplement their scant salary by outside work.

THE BACKWOODS PREACHERS.

Thank God for the backwoods preachers, "the pathfinders, the blazers on the border", often unknown to earthly fame. Without such, hundreds of our churches in this state and thousands in our Southland would be without pastors. There is no longer an excuse for brethren who contemplate the work of the ministry to neglect preparation for it. The average young man of to-day has double the opportunity for an education that the average young man had a generation ago.

There is not a young man in the state, endowed with a sound mind and body, who has not a far better opportunity for acquiring an education than the average college graduate in this audience had. No man can be too well trained for his work, whatever that work may be. It has always been true that where there is a will there is a way. How much more true in our day. With common sense as a foundation no one can have too much learning. Ignorance can only be bliss when the individual is irresponsible. The libraries of our pioneers consisted of sixty-six books, and that in one—the Bible. They were one-Book men, and known as "mighty in the Scriptures". As they studied it, they believed that God was their guide, and that Christ was their leader. In the annals of our pioneer worthies who wrought and pre-empted Kentucky for the Baptists, William Hickman was in vision and achievements imperial. By right, without detracting from his coadjutors, he ranks as the Gideon of the Baptist pioneer army in Kentucky.

The ancients imagined a circle around the sun, in which their orators, statesmen and heroes of all generations dwell. Be that as it may. I fancy I see the redeemed of every age and clime parading the streets of the New Jerusalem in glorious triumph. I fancy I see seats of high honor, reserved for prophets, apostles, martyrs and missionaries, who in all ages

placed themselves on the altar, and obeyed God rather than men.

For truth with tireless zeal they sought,
In joyless paths they trod,
Heedless of pain or blame they wrought
And left the rest with God.

But though their names no poet wove
In deathless song or story,
Their record is inscribed above,
Their wreaths are crowns of glory.

A History of the Western Baptist Theological Institute

Cobington, Ky.

by

W. C. James, Th. D.

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Preface

Much of the material which enters into the composition of the following narrative has been secured from the old files of Baptist newspapers.

The New York Recorder, Western Watchman, South-Western Baptist Chronicle, Religious Herald, Tennessee Baptist, Christian Index and other religious journals whose files are in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary have been examined with as much care as I could command, and made to yield up the information which they contained. I regret exceedingly that it was impossible for me to procure the ante-bellum files of the *Journal and Messenger of Cincinnati*. From the nature of the case they doubtless contain much valuable information concerning the history of the Western Baptist Theological Institute. They are not in our library nor are they to be found in the office at Cincinnati.

By far the most abundant information from the papers has been derived from the columns of *The Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*, then published in Louisville and now represented by the *Western Recorder*. Very many of the articles to be found in the other papers were published originally in the *Banner and Pioneer*.

The Western Baptist Review also contains several vigorous articles on the Institute from the trenchant pen of its brilliant editor—John L. Waller. Many if not all of Dr. Waller's editorials were later published in the *Banner and Pioneer*. But more copious and connected than the information procured from the papers is that to be found in *A Brief Sketch of the Western Baptist Theological Institute* by J. Stevens of Cincinnati, which sketch was published in 1850. In this is set forth the Northern view of the matter in dispute. The Kentucky trustees published a reply to Stevens' sketch in which their side of the case is declared. The above two pamphlets

are very valuable and so far as is known there are only two sets to be found—one in the Seminary library, the other in the library of a local historical society in Cincinnati.

For assistance rendered in the prosecution of the work, I desire to express my sincere thanks to Mr. Geo. E. Stevens of Cincinnati who answered patiently and promptly the many inquiries addressed to him, to the Hon. Mr. Payne, Treasurer of Georgetown College, who placed at my disposal for several weeks the Minutes of the Financial and Executive Committee of the Institution from 1848 to 1853, to President J. J. Taylor, Drs. Yager and Ryland of Georgetown College, to Miss Mary Dudley, Librarian of Georgetown College, to the Librarian of the Seminary Library who has been unfailing in his courtesies, and to Col. R. T. Durrett of Louisville, who not only proffered the use of the books, but himself personally assisted me in my investigation. Nor can I fail to mention Dr. Wm. Ashmore, the veteran missionary to China, who is an alumnus of the ill-fated school, and who has done much to acquaint me with the student life which obtained at the Institute.

It has not been thought necessary to incorporate within the following narrative the original charter of the Institute with the various amendments which were made to it. There has been added, however, as Appendix, the amendment procured by the Kentucky Trustees by means of which they wrested the Institute from the Ohioans and themselves secured entire control.

I

WESTERN GROWTH.

At the close of the third decade of the nineteenth century—for at this point we find the beginnings of the events herein recorded—the population of that portion of the United States lying between the Alleghany mountains and the Mississippi river was estimated at 3,000,000.

Fifty years before this, i.e., about 1780, Daniel Boone, the famous hunter, had begun the settlement of Kentucky and James Robertson was moving into Tennessee. About the same time (1778-9) a young Virginian, George Rogers Clark, hearing of an attempt on the part of Col. Hamilton then in command of the British forces at Detroit, to stir up all the western tribes of Indians to a concerted attack upon the frontier, undertook to prevent the frightful consequences which such an attack, should it be successful, would produce. In two short, yet brilliant campaigns, he conquered and captured Hamilton at Vincennes and concluded his enterprise by capturing and holding all the territory north of the Ohio river and extending from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. Inspired by the daring of such doughty pioneers as Boone and Robertson, and encouraged by the victories of Clark to hope for reasonable exemption from Indian attacks, long wagon trains could frequently be seen dragging their tedious lengths across the mountain passes, and ere long the rude, yet comfortable log cabins, and the well-tilled farms gave unmistakable evidence of the presence of the pioneer. But soon the second war with England engaged the attention of all on both sides of the mountains, and in consequence, the Indian depredations in the Northwest and Southwest were poor inducements with which to lure would-be emigrants from the other side. But this passage at arms between America and the mother country happily proved of short duration. The latter acquiesced in all the

demands which the victorious nation imposed upon her, thereby strengthening the American feeling of nationality and showing that the period of weakness for the new nation was rapidly coming to an end. Moreover during the war Gen. Harrison completely annihilated the combined British and Indian forces in the battle of the Thames and so presently recovered the Northwest territory, while Andrew Jackson at the head of a few United States regulars in a bloody campaign of six or seven months, which was brought to a successful termination by the battle of Tallapoosa in March, 1814, delivered a crushing blow to the Indian forces in the Southwest. And so from the mountains to the Mississippi the settlers were again relieved of the fear of attack from the red man. A short time before the breaking out of the war a steamboat was launched on the Ohio at Pittsburg and it was not long before the Ohio, with its tributaries, was provided with many such vessels bearing a constantly increasing supply of emigrants to their western homes. The successful termination of the war which begat a feeling of safety, and the introduction of steamboat travel, which greatly facilitated means of communication, undoubtedly had much to do with the westward expansion which now ensued. As an evidence of the rapid growth of population, it is only necessary to recall the fact that each year for four consecutive years, a new state in the Mississippi valley was added to the Union. And so, the integrity of our possessions being now assured and immunity from the aggressions of Indians guaranteed, the tide of population temporarily held back, now set in again from the East with increased volume and momentum, and there was accordingly ushered in for "the next fifty years a material growth without a parallel in history."

II

WESTERN BAPTIST PIONEERS.

But we err if we suppose that representatives of the Christian faith were not found among the great numbers that now

poured into the Middle West. Many of them there were of all denominations, lay and ministerial, and quite valiantly did they bear themselves in the struggle to improve not only their material, but the moral conditions. It is not our purpose nor desire to derogate a tithe from the praise due to other denominations for their contribution to the moral enlightenment of the new territory, and yet it seems that to the Baptists is due the credit of first proclaiming the story of the cross in this region.

Although Daniel Boone was not a Baptist, several members of his family were, and a brother, 'Squire Boone, was a Baptist preacher. Except preacher Boone the first man to preach the Gospel in Kentucky, and perhaps in the whole West, was Thomas Tinsley, who with William Hickman settled in Harrodsburg in 1776, the Boone settlement having been constituted more than a year before. The first church in Kentucky and in the entire West was organized by the Baptists in 1781, and as the First Baptist church of Elizabethtown, is in existence to-day. Many, if not almost all of the Kentucky Baptists, were from Virginia. In the fall of 1781 a church worshipping in Spottsylvania county Va., with her pastor, Lewis Craig, moved over to Kentucky and settled on Gilbert's Creek, and Semple, the Virginia Baptist historian, is authority for the statement that between 1791 and 1810 fully one-fourth of the Baptists of Virginia removed to Kentucky.

As in Kentucky so in Ohio. The first church organized in the Northwest territory was the Columbia Baptist, whose date is January 20, 1790. The Columbia Township was then about five miles from what is now the site of Cincinnati—the growth of the latter city having brought Columbia within her corporate limits. In 1889 a monument commemorative of this event was erected on the site of the first house of worship built by the church. Two inscriptions recite the date of the coming of the Baptist pioneers, the date of organization, the name of the constituent members and the purchase of two acres of ground as a building lot from Maj. Benjamin Stites, who was at the head of the first band of pioneers that settled on Ohio soil and who later became a prominent member of this church.

In Illinois Territory in 1786, thirty-two years before its admission as a state, the Lemen family had founded the first church, organized the first association and were the leaders in the anti-slavery movement years before the birth of Parker, Phillips and Garrison who led the later "abolition" crusade.

Also in the region beyond the Mississippi the word of the Lord sounded forth, and here again, according to Newman, the Baptists were the first to proclaim it, and so the above facts would seem to indicate that it would not be difficult to prove that the Baptists were the first to preach the Gospel in the valley of the Mississippi; and in reading the record of those days of toil and privation it is interesting indeed to meet with the names of those who became the noble progenitors of sons and daughters who to-day in secular and religious pursuits are bearing themselves worthily and, by their devotion to the cause for which their fathers suffered, show that they are not insensible to the high source from which they sprang.

III.

WESTERN BAPTIST PROGRESS.

There was, to be sure, quite a diversity of opinion among the Christians of those pioneer days. But generally speaking they were divided into two classes—the party of progress and the party of conservatism and inaction, the one in favor of missions and education, the other opposed to efforts of such character. Of these two classes the Baptists had formidable array of the latter kind. The Presbyterians also felt powerfully the hindering influence of the latter class, but it is with the Baptists here that we are concerned. So effective and wide-spread were the teachings of Daniel Parker and A. Campbell that by 1836 in many places north and south of the Ohio, "the Baptist candle-stick was well-nigh removed." Opposition to Sabbath schools, to missions, to education and to all kinds of Christian enterprise seemed to have carried the day. But the party

of progress was in the fight to stay, and was determined to know no such word as "fail" in their efforts to promote the Redeemer's kingdom. They were convinced of the need of an educated ministry and set themselves to work very assiduously to procure it.

And here it may not be improper to pause long enough to consider the grounds of opposition to an educated ministry. The first and most potent reason was the jealousy which seized the uncultured and ignorant pioneer preacher lest his hold upon the people should be lost and so his occupation would be gone. These early preachers were good men and accomplished much for truth and righteousness, but like many of their brethren to-day in the pulpit and out of it, they had not yet reached the eminence which John occupied when pointing to the Lord he could say, "He must increase but I must decrease."

There was another objection, and this weighed no little with the Kentucky Baptists. Many of them were from Virginia where the Establishment existed. There they were required by law to support the Episcopal clergy sent over from England, the majority of whom were a convivial set, fond of cock-fighting, horse-racing and other diversions and whose only claim to merit consisted very largely in the fact that they were educated. An educated preacher was thus commonly identified in their minds with a worldly-minded preacher and to the support of such an one they were not disposed to contribute.

It was not an easy task to overcome the opposition which such prejudice and jealousy would engender, and much of it was never overcome. But how successful the progressive Christian element was in its efforts to provide educational institutions for the training of its young ministry may be seen from this: In the region between the Mississippi and the Alleghany the evangelical denominations—Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian—by 1837 had established twenty-one colleges, the oldest of which is Centre College (Presbyterian) at Danville. Of these the following were Baptist: Georgetown College, Ky., estab-

lished in 1829; Clinton College, Miss., 1830; Denison University, Ohio, 1831; Shurtleff College, Ill., 1832; and Franklin College, Ind., 1834. The need for an educated ministry was pronounced and heroically did these few yet progressive Baptists address themselves to their task. In 1833 there were, according to a competent authority, 60,000 Baptists in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Kentucky. Many of them were illiterate and "of 637 ordained ministers in the same territory probably not 30 had received any college training." But now, how changed! Baptist colleges, seminaries, and universities abound, Baptist people so far as intelligence is concerned need not hang their heads anywhere. One of the largest universities in America and in many respects the most conspicuous, is under Baptist control, the largest Theological Seminary in America is a Baptist Seminary, and when a few years ago a committee from the University of California came East seeking for a president, five out of the seven whom they interviewed relative to the presidency were Baptists and a Baptist was chosen for the position.

IV.

WESTERN BAPTIST CONVENTION.

The annals of American Baptist history do not contain a more melancholy chapter than that which records the beginning, the bright prospects and the early demise of The Western Baptist Theological Institute which opened its doors in Covington, Ky., in the fall of 1845, which had in its faculty men who were distinguished alike for learning and piety, which sent forth from its walls during the brief period of its existence a number of students, some of whom rendered exceptional service to their generation, which had every prospect of a career of uninterrupted usefulness but so soon fell a prey to the divisive influences which the agitation of slavery produced. Let us go back to the origin of the Institute.

The Baptist Weekly Journal which began publication in

1831 did yeoman service for the Baptist cause in those early days. In this it proved a true forerunner of its successor—the *Journal and Messenger*. This paper—the *Journal*—thinking that the Baptist cause in the West could be materially assisted by a general meeting of Western Baptists urged from time to time the need of such a gathering. Such a meeting, it was thought, would lead to a better mutual acquaintance and understanding, thereby strengthening the bonds of fellowship, would furnish a most desirable opportunity for the interchange of views, for the discussion of both principles and policies and hence contribute directly to “a more vigorous co-operation in behalf of those enterprises in which the denomination had already embarked.” As a result of this effort there was held on July 9, 1833, a meeting of a few Cincinnati Baptists, at which it was resolved, first, that it would be well to have a general meeting of Western Baptists in the last week of the next October. Second, that a committee of three be appointed to consult with leading brethren in the West and East as to the wisdom of such a meeting. A third resolution embodied the names of the brethren with whom the committee was instructed to correspond. These names numbered nine and were distributed as follows: Three from the East, two each from Kentucky and Illinois, one each from Indiana and Missouri, while the Committee on Correspondence were all three from Cincinnati. This committee through its Chairman, S. W. Lynd, entered into correspondence with the brethren specified, and favorable replies having been received from them, a circular address was issued by the committee, “To the Members of the Baptist Denomination in the Western States,” setting forth plans for “A General Meeting for the promotion of the cause of Christ, as connected with the interests of the Baptist Denomination in the Western States, to be held in Cincinnati, commencing November 6, 1833.” A general attendance was urged, and the subjects to be discussed were Home and Foreign Missions, Denominational Literature, Sabbath Schools and Ministerial Education.

The day appointed for the convention came and with it

came 109 delegates—from Ohio, 74; from Kentucky, 18; from Indiana, 8; from Illinois, 1; and from the East there were 7. We pause a moment to observe the general character of the meeting.

In the first place it must have been a source of immense pleasure and encouragement to the 100 Western Baptists to see one another, for the first time and perhaps for the last time, to experience the fraternal handshake, to see eye to eye, and to talk about the interests of the Redeemer's Kingdom which God had committed to them in the far West. To us who live in these latter days when steam and electricity have virtually annihilated time and distance and brought the ends of the earth together, to travel several hundred or a thousand miles is a matter of small concern. When we remember that in 1830 there were only twenty-three miles of railroad in the United States, and that the only modes of locomotion were the usual road conveyances and the slow river-boats, we can easily imagine the output of time and expense to which the delegates were subjected in order to be present at this, which "is believed to be the first religious convention of a general character whose constituency crossed state lines west of the Alleghanies." Surely the Western brethren were encouraged by the presence of their Eastern brethren and they in turn were gratified at the determination of the pioneers to put a Christian, yea, a Baptist, stamp upon the new and unfounded West. Everything was done that could be done in this gathering to promote harmony and allay prejudice. Hence it was called not a convention, but a general meeting. At that time it was a matter of dispute with some whether ministers should be called Elder, Reverend or Doctor—many opposing with vehemence at times the use of the last two. Consequently in the early sessions of the meeting all titles were omitted. Particularly were the brethren anxious to avoid the discussion of and the allusion to any subject that might call forth a display of sectional feeling—and in this they were eminently successful.

Note also that this was a meeting not of Northern, nor Eastern, nor Southern, but of Western Baptists. It included all

Baptists west of the Alleghanies and on both sides of the Ohio. On the other side of the mountains the line of cleavage, geographically speaking, had been plainly drawn and evidences were not wanting that it was beginning to be drawn socially, politically and religiously. Already in the East the slavery agitation had begun to array the North against the South, and there were not a few who could discern signs of inevitable conflict. It must have been observed that, in the calling of this meeting and in the objects which later were fostered by it, the initiative was taken by Baptists north of the Ohio. They were Northern men, many of them were New England men, and hence they were anti-slavery men. They were such by birth, by environment, by education—the same reasons that made Southerners pro-slavery men.

But let it be remembered, they were not abolitionists and had no sympathy with the extreme measures advocated by Theodore Parker, Wendel Philips and William Lloyd Garrison, but rather deplored them. It was therefore the sincere desire of these Ohio Baptists to ignore sectionalism and to enlist the help of all the Baptists west of the mountains. There was a great work to be done on this side of the mountains, and they naturally believed it could be done by the Baptists that were living there. Hence this was a general meeting of Western Baptists. When some years later one of the chief enterprises conceived by this meeting became involved in trouble and some of the Eastern journals voluntarily offered their advices, it was J. M. Peck who insisted that the affair was "strictly and solely a Western one and that the ultraists North and South have no business with it."

It may not be uninteresting to observe the personnel of the gathering. Our attention is naturally enough directed first of all to the brother who preached the opening sermon. He is Silas Mercer Noel, who was born near Richmond, Va., and, when George Washington became president, was a boy six years of age. He was well educated, studied law and began the practice of it in Frankfort, Ky. After some years of successful practice he exchanged the bar for the pulpit, became a pastor

and proved himself a tower of strength to the Baptist cause. Later when appointed judge of the circuit court he accepted the position and filled it with distinction, and then resigned to devote his entire time to the ministry. His success as a preacher drew forth the statement that "he baptized more people than any other preacher in Kentucky." In one year he baptized 359 persons into the membership of a single church. He died at the early age of fifty-six, and during the last three years of his life was pastor of the Baptist church at Lexington, Ky.

Jonathan Going was also there. He was born in Vermont and was three years younger than Noel. He was a graduate of Brown University and for sixteen years was pastor of the Baptist church in Worcester, Mass. Becoming profoundly interested in the cause of Home Missions, he obtained from his church permission to visit the struggling Baptist churches in the West and came out to Ohio in 1831. On his return to the East he was made corresponding secretary of the Home Mission Society, and in that capacity he was present at this meeting. He built wisely and well for the Western Baptists, his heart was with them, and in 1837 he became the second president of Granville College, which position he filled with great satisfaction until death claimed him in 1844.

Herman Lincoln is one whom we must not pass by. He was a splendid type of the consecrated business man. He was three years old when Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence. He served his county and district in the lower and upper houses of the Massachusetts Legislature; was a member of the convention for the revision of the state constitution and, being an intelligent Baptist, he made an earnest plea for religious liberty and the rights of conscience. He believed thoroughly in home and foreign missions and as president of the Home Mission Society he was at this meeting to help his Western brethren. So deep became his interest in the cause of missions that he withdrew from his regular business and devoted his time to the cause which lay so close to his heart. He honored God and God in turn honored him with an unusually

long and useful career, and gave him a son who bore his name and for many years was a professor in Newton Seminary.

Howard Malcom was also there. He too was an educated preacher, having received training in academy, college and seminary; later he was honored with the degree of D.D., from the University of Vermont and from Union College. His exacting duties as author and pastor had made necessary an eight-months' trip to Europe and he had returned in time to attend the Cincinnati meeting. In a short while he sailed for Burmah and spent two and a half years in visiting mission stations. On his return he was elected to the presidency of Georgetown College, Ky., which position he occupied for about ten years when slavery troubles caused him to resign and seek more congenial spheres. Later as a Philadelphia pastor, as president of Bucknell University and as an advocate of every good work he concluded a useful life and in his eighty-first year passed on to his reward.

Among the delegates could be seen the inspiring and eloquent countenance of Henry Jackson who for fourteen years was pastor at Charlestown, Mass., seven years at Bedford and then concluded his ministerial career with a pastorate of twenty-three years at Newport, R. I. He was a graduate and trustee of Brown, one of the founders of Newton Seminary and a trustee of the same for thirty-eight years.

S. W. Lynd cannot be passed by. He had studied under the eloquent Wm. Stoughton, had married his daughter and came West to Cincinnati when the Baptist cause in that city was at a low ebb. He was the recognized leader of the missionary party in the Miami Association, and in this meeting made a speech on "benevolent efforts," which produced a thrilling effect upon the audience. His long pastorate of fifteen years in Cincinnati did more for the Baptist cause in southern Ohio than did the labors of any other one man and was terminated that he might undertake a similar work in St. Louis. Later at Covington and Georgetown, Ky., as author, editor, teacher and Seminary president, he continued to serve his generation and at eighty years of age entered into his rest.

Nor must we forget J. Stevens, who was one of the secretaries of the convention, a man of unusual mental, moral and physical energy, devoted to every good cause, and his memory to-day is one of the choicest heritages of Ohio Baptists. He was a graduate of Middleburg College in Vermont, and being a Congregationalist, attended Andover where he enjoyed the tuition of Moses Stuart. While in the seminary he became a Baptist and was baptized by Dr. Bolles of Salem. Coming West, he became the first editor of what is now the *Journal and Messenger*, and for fifty years as editor, professor in Granville College and district secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Union he did a work which placed him in the front rank of the progressive Baptists of pioneer days. Rochester University honored him with D.D., and God gave him two sons—one of whom is a prominent Baptist and business man of Cincinnati, and the other is Wm. Arnold Stevens of Rochester Theological Seminary.

Nor must we fail to mention G. F. Davis who likewise came all the way from New England to be present at this meeting. For eleven years he was pastor of the Baptist church in South Reading, Mass. Being desirous to know Latin and Greek, he studied these languages during the spare moments of a busy pastorate and walked at stated times to Boston to recite to Prof. Winchell, and to Francis Wayland, who was then pastor of the Baptist church.

Not the least remarkable man in the convention was John Mason Peck, who, after studying a year under Dr. Stoughton in Philadelphia, was made a Western missionary of the board of the old Triennial Convention. July 25, 1817, he started for the scene of his labors, in a covered wagon, with a wife and three children, and after traveling a distance of 1,200 miles, on December 1 reached St. Louis, his destination.

He was easily one of the most influential men on the floor of this convention. The cause of the Western Baptists never had a more sagacious or successful laborer. He wrote the life of Daniel Boone for the American Biography Series edited by Jared Sparks, and Harvard College showed her estimate of his

worth by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1852.

The presence of the Eastern brethren, gifted and cultured as they were, was significant. They were occupied at home with congenial tasks amid desirable surroundings. But they possessed the spirit of their Lord—"not to be ministered unto, but to minister"—and obedience to this spirit brought them far hence to the needy West.

The constructive spirit obtained among all who were present at this meeting. Whether learned or unlearned, they were characterized by a profound purpose to capture the new region for Christ and his cause. If any one was there possessed of the opposite spirit, he preserved a discreet silence.

In taking our leave of the stalwart men who composed the membership of this body, it would perhaps be correct to say that the sentiment expressed by Nathan Cory as he left the meeting was expressive of the views entertained by all present. This aged minister of the gospel was the first person baptized in the Scioto country—Central Ohio—as then called. On the third day of the meeting he "arose and stated that he and some other brethren must now take leave of the meeting to return home; that he blessed God that he had lived to see and hear the proceedings of the convention; that he felt assured that God would bless the meeting to the promoting of the cause of Christ in the Western states."

The Western Baptist Convention was short-lived. For six years it held annual sessions in Cincinnati. There was no meeting in 1839. The sessions of 1840 and 1841 were held in Louisville. By this time the object which had called it into being was almost secured, and the convention accordingly dissolved.

V.

WESTERN BAPTIST EDUCATION SOCIETY.

In the circular letter issued by the Cincinnati brethren proposing a General Meeting of Western Baptists, one of the

subjects specified for discussion was ministerial education. At the first session on Monday afternoon J. M. Peck proposed for consideration three resolutions which were substantially as follows: (1) that the convention rejoice in the blessings of God which have attended the establishment of Baptist schools of learning in some of the Western states and expresses its conviction of the importance of such institutions in each state; (2) that it is essential to the interests of Western Baptists that a theological institution be established in some central portion of the Mississippi valley, and (3) "that a committee of five (5) be appointed to open correspondence on this subject, ascertain the views of the brethren, look out for a site for location, receive proposals for funds or donations and report to the next convention."

These resolutions, as has been stated, were offered by J. M. Peck. He knew from experience the disadvantages which overtake one, particularly a minister, who is not prepared for his work, and he was therefore anxious that the advantages denied himself might be extended to others.

After some discussion the resolutions were laid on the table till the evening session. At that time they were taken up and discussed at length by Dr. Noel, Dr. Going, G. C. Sedgwick and others. Dr. Noel gave an account of the provisions and prospects for theological education at Georgetown College, Ky., and no doubt the claims of Granville College as a suitable place for training young ministers were also advanced. That there was need for such an institution as contemplated in the resolution was admitted, but there was an apprehension lest an attempt to establish it now would operate against schools, all of which were of recent establishment and which were struggling to secure a better existence.

However an affirmative vote prevailed and in accordance with the third resolution a committee of five—S. M. Noel, J. M. Peck, S. W. Lynd, E. Fisher and E. Robins—was appointed to prepare a report for the next annual convention.

At the appointed time, Nov. 6, 1834, the committee presented its report. It was an able document, containing a thorough

discussion of ministerial education as it applied to Western Baptists. The importance of it, the differences, prejudices and mistakes of Western Baptists on the subject, the right way to promote it—all these were entered into with a thoroughness in every way worthy of the heart and mind of J. M. Peck, who read the report and by whom it had been drawn up.

The report states that the committee has been corresponding with the purpose of ascertaining the views of the brethren in different states, and finds that they accord in general with those of the committee. Also from their correspondence they learn that the only fear is that the proposed institution might "conflict with existing or projected institutions for purposes of general education."

Two locations had been proposed to the committee—Upper Alton, Ill., and Cincinnati. At the former place, Alton Seminary, estimated to be worth about \$8,000, was offered the committee on condition that the proposed institution be located there. With the Cincinnati location no offer of property was then made.

The committee were persuaded "that the present circumstances and wants of the denomination in the West call loudly and imperiously for a Western Baptist institution for the education of the gospel ministry and that a Western Baptist Education Society ought to be organized for the same purpose," and hence they concluded their report by proposing for the consideration of the convention the following resolution, viz.: (1) That a Baptist Theological Institute ought to be established at some eligible point in the Western country and (2) that this committee be discharged and this whole matter be referred to a select committee.

The report of the committee was received and adopted, the committee discharged and the select committee was chosen to whom the entire matter was referred. The select committee was of nineteen—nine from the Northwest, six from the Southwest, and four from the East. The Eastern brethren were Drs. Going of New York, Pattison of Rhode Island, Malcom of Massachusetts, and Welsh of New Jersey.

After the appointment of the committee the following resolution was adopted: "That we consider the education of ministers highly important as a means of enabling them to exhibit appropriately and forcibly the truths of the gospel." This was followed by a second resolution which indicates perhaps that there was a lingering suspicion lest, in the effort for an educated ministry, the emphasis should be put in the wrong place. This second resolution was as follows: "That in ministerial education it should be a primary object to promote growth in grace and knowledge of Christ, and that to do this effectually, prayer and habitual devotion are indispensable."

The select committee now reported in favor of a Central Theological Institution and as auxiliary thereto recommended the immediate foundation of a Western Baptist Education Society. Acting upon the advices of the committee the convention adopted two resolutions, viz: (1) That the wants of the Mississippi valley require that we have an institution intended solely for the education of those whom the churches shall approve as called of God to preach the gospel, and (2) That it is expedient that a Western Baptist Education Society be now formed. Accordingly, the form of a constitution was presented, adopted and signed by a number of brethren present, and of those who signed the constitution, a committee was appointed to nominate a board of executive officers. The preamble to the constitution recites, (1) the need of an improvement in the quality as well as an increase in the number of the Western Baptist ministry; (2) our gratitude to God that some of the Western states have established schools for general education and with more or less reference to ministerial education; (3) the necessity of a theological institution of high character and (4) that it is the duty of the churches to receive as the gifts of God those whom he has called into the ministry, and to do all they can to increase their efficiency as laborers in the gospel. This end can best be gained by an association for the promotion of ministerial education.

The Constitution of the Education Society consisted of six articles:

Art. 1. The name: Western Baptist Education Society.

Art. 2. Its object: The education of those who give evidence to the churches of a call to the ministry.

Art. 3. Condition of Membership: The annual contribution to its funds on the part of the individuals and annual collections for its objects from associations and churches.

Art. 4. The Officers of the Society: These shall consist of (1) a President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer. (2) a Board of Directors, consisting of at least two members from each Western state, one member from each state of which a part lies west of the Alleghanies, and one member from each organized territory.

Seven members of the board shall constitute a quorum. The board of directors shall choose an executive committee consisting of twelve members, five of whom shall be a quorum. This executive committee shall be a self-propagating body, shall make its own by-laws, and choose its own officers.

It shall have entire control of all pecuniary concerns of the society.

It shall judge of the qualifications of all applicants.

It shall make an annual report to the society of its doings.

It shall have power to take measures for the establishment of the Theological Institute contemplated by the convention, and in the event of its establishment shall have entire control of its management.

A necessary provision of this article is that each officer of the society and each trustee and instructor of the Institute shall be a member of some Baptist church.

Art. 5 provides for the annual meetings of the society.

Art. 6 requires a two-third vote of the members present at any annual meeting to effect a change in the constitution. Except that the second article and the provision attached to the fourth article shall be forever inviolable.

And so the Western Baptist Education Society was formed November 10, 1834, and it is but justice to state that to J. M. Peck and Jonathan Going is due the honor of its formation. From the time of Mr. Peck's arrival in St. Louis, December 1,

1817, the cause of education had enlisted his sympathies. He saw in it a powerful auxiliary to the gospel and did all that he could to promote its advance. He had corresponded with brethren in the East relative to it and in 1826 had made a trip there "in behalf of measures for certain improvement". He had gained the sympathy of Dr. Going and hence the latter's presence at this and the preceding convention, at both of which he rendered invaluable service.

In 1831 the Baptists of Ohio had voted to establish Granville College, now Denison University. They were committed to it, were studious for its success, and hence jealous of any movement which seemed to stand in the way of its progress. Shortly after its establishment, it had suffered severe loss by fire and this misfortune elicited in a more pronounced way the sympathy of its friends, and made them more apprehensive lest the establishment of another school should withdraw needed assistance from it. Moreover the Cincinnati brethren had become enlisted in the Granville enterprise and now it was the Cincinnati brethren who were the chief promoters of the new institution proposed by the convention. Hence many of the Ohio Baptists outside of, as well as many in, Cincinnati were lukewarm in their advocacy of the new school. But when the Education Society was formed, all opposition from the Ohioans ceased and they became most zealous in promoting its interests. The officers of the new society were: S. W. Lynd, N. S. Johnson and J. Stevens, respectively president, treasurer and secretary, and all three were residents of Cincinnati. Six vice-presidents were chosen, one each from the states of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Tennessee. The board of directors consisted of two brethren each from the states of Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, Tennessee, Mississippi, Illinois, Missouri, and one each from the states of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Arkansas and Michigan—making in all nineteen.

The executive committee chosen by the board consisted of twelve—seven from Ohio, two from Kentucky and one each from Tennessee, Indiana and Missouri. Of the seven from Ohio, six lived in Cincinnati. Lest the formation of the Edu-

cation Society, whose chief purpose was the establishment of a separate theological institution, should be construed as antagonistic to the educational interests of the different Western states, these resolutions were passed by the convention recommending "to the confidence and support of the denomination both in the Eastern and Western States" the infant institution at Upper Alton, Illinois, and the Granville Literary and Theological Institution in Ohio. The Baptists of Indiana, Alabama, Tennessee and Michigan were commended for their efforts to establish literary and theological schools and the friends of religion and learning in other states were encouraged to pursue the same course.

The constitution of the society remained unchanged until the annual meeting at Cincinnati in 1838. The conclusion there reached to have biennial and not annual meetings of the convention made it necessary to erase the word "annually" in Art. 3.

At the same time Article 5 was so changed as to provide for the regular meetings of the society on the second day of the convention, at which time the officers of the society should be chosen and the executive committee was empowered to fill any vacancy which might occur in its body during the recess between the meetings of the convention.

Also in the fall of 1842 the following article was adopted in the place of the fourth and part of the fifth: "There shall be an annual meeting of the society, held at such time and place as shall have been agreed upon by a vote of the preceding annual meeting, at which time there shall be appointed a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and twenty other persons who shall constitute a board of directors; out of which number the society shall designate twelve members, who shall be styled the executive committee, any five of whom shall be a quorum. Also special meetings of the society were to be called at any time at the discretion of the executive committee."

VI.

SELECTING AND IMPROVING A SITE.

The executive committee very properly regarded the establishment of a theological seminary as their chief duty and quite resolutely, yet cautiously and wisely, did they address themselves to their task. It is not always easy for a noble soul to be stirred to its best endeavor by a matter of transitory concern; but an enterprise which promises enduring good, which gives evidence that it will live to bless generations yet unborn after those who have brought it into existence have been forgotten—such an enterprise awakens enthusiasm and evokes the best energies of which the soul is capable. And thus was it with the executive committee as they faced the task to which their brethren had summoned them. In the establishment of a seminary on a sure basis there was a prospect of doing inestimable good; the brethren everywhere felt the need of it; in both conventions there was no evidence of the anti-missionary spirit, but the atmosphere seemed to be surcharged with the spirit of missions and education. In a word the omens were favorable and under these conditions the committee took up its task. Much depended upon securing the services of one qualified to act as general agent. It was evident that a mistake in this regard would bring about harm, while the services of the right man on the field would “awaken interest, inspire confidence, secure co-operation, insure caution,” and so hasten the success of the undertaking. A futile attempt was made to enlist Dr. Jonathan Going as general agent. Rev. Ezra Going, a brother of J. Going, was now in the West as a representative of the Home Mission Board, and he was induced to combine with his missionary efforts the duties of general agent. This was December 1, 1834. His labors began January 1 of the new year and he continued therein six months. Much of the winter was spent by him in visiting portions of Indiana, Ohio and Kentucky, comparing sites on both sides of the river, securing

terms and seeking to enlist the co-operation of the brethren. He met with a cordial reception everywhere, as did also the cause which he represented. From the beginning a prominent object with the committee had been to secure the assistance of Kentucky in the enterprise. It lay wholly west of the Alleghanies, was separated from the Northwest by the Ohio which furnished an easy method of communication for those living on its opposite sides and in fact those living on both sides of the river had many things in common. In addition to this, Baptists in Kentucky were increasing numerically and prospering financially, and it would mean much for the infant enterprise should the sympathy and co-operation of this state be secured.

The committee thought that the location of the seminary on the Kentucky side would surely contribute to that end, and hence they were from the first partial to the offers which were submitted from that side. Should a Kentucky site be chosen, it must be one not far removed from Cincinnati, since the majority of the executive committee resided there, and regard must be had to the difficulties and inconveniences of travel. The first report made by the committee mentions four sites which were examined—one in Cincinnati and three in Kentucky; and one of those in Kentucky was the property of Gen. Zachary Taylor at Newport.

The determination of the committee to choose a site in Kentucky provided certain conditions were complied with must have been made quite early, for at the meeting at which a general agent was chosen a resolution was also adopted that the committee would locate the institution at Covington or Newport on the basis of \$40,000 if the leading friends of the cause in Kentucky would approve the plan and undertake to raise therefor the sum of \$20,000—the rest to be raised elsewhere.

In January, 1835, Reverends Going and Stevens went to Kentucky to submit to the Baptists there the above proposition. At a meeting held in Frankfort there were present quite a number of the friends of ministerial education. What the occasion was is not known, but that it was more than a local affair is evident. These brethren assembled in Frankfort on

January 13, 1835, adopted two resolutions, in effect as follows: First, that they felt a great interest in the work and believed that the Kentucky Baptists could raise \$25,000, and furthermore they were ready to act in concert with the committee; and second, they recommended that the executive committee appoint an agent to raise the Kentucky amount. Likewise a resolution was adopted in Lexington by Baptists assembled there January 21, 1835, in which it was agreed that the Kentucky churches could raise \$25,000 "in forwarding this good work," and cordial approbation of the plan was expressed.

The method pursued by the executive committee in procuring a building site, erecting the necessary buildings and in compassing other objects required for a first-class theological seminary, reflects great credit upon their faith and business sagacity. They started without a dollar, single-handed and alone, which showed the measure of their faith, and in a few years they had amassed a property estimated at \$200,000 or \$300,000, which is an evidence of their good management. They relied "on the importance of the undertaking, the interest felt in its accomplishments, and the blessing of heaven, to draw forth from the members of our churches and the community the requisite pecuniary aid."

It is only in recent years that our educational institutions have begun to feel the effects of the munificence of wealthy men. Seventy years ago it would have been idle to wait for contributions from Baptists untrained in the grace of giving, with which to begin even the most laudable undertaking. Hence for the first seven years of its existence the Education Society which proposed to build a theological seminary had received in cash the sum of \$188.50.

Having decided to locate the institution on Kentucky soil, and hoping thereby to gain the hearty co-operation of Kentucky Baptists, the executive committee in May and June 1835 purchased in the southern vicinity of Covington three tracts of land comprising 370 acres and aggregating in cost \$33,250. The conditions upon which these purchases were made were that a cash payment be made immediately, the remaining

amounts to be paid in four or five annual payments with interest, and the original owners securing themselves by holding a mortgage on the property.

This was not the case however with the smaller tract which was purchased for \$5,000. There chanced to be in Cincinnati at that time a generous Baptist from Lynn, Mass., Jonathan Batcheller, who loaned to the executive committee the required amount at 6 per cent. interest and in appreciation of his loan he was presented with one acre of the tract.

In July shortly after these purchases were made, the committee sold to a citizen of Cincinnati ninety acres for \$22,500, but out of the plot three acres were reserved for a church and a high school. The conditions of the sale were \$10,000 in cash and the balance in four or five annual installments.

For the next three years nothing was done beyond renting the lands for farming purposes. In the meantime, the committee were making various attempts to secure some one who would prove a competent corresponding secretary and financial agent of the society. Several prominent brethren had been importuned to take the position, and in 1835 one of the executive committee had visited the East in search of a suitable man; but these efforts had been to no purpose. During this period, though financial obligations were falling due, nothing was being done to improve the property and the rent for farming purposes was not sufficient to meet the interest on borrowed money. A report of the committee in October 1837, showed the total indebtedness of the society to be \$32,585, and its resources in notes and obligations to be \$14,946 and 279 acres of land. This report made it evident that something must be done, and that quickly, else the enterprise would be ruined. It was under these circumstances that E. Robins, one of the executive committee living in Cincinnati, was induced to assume the management of the property and so attempt to extricate it from its embarrassment. Having a large insurance business in the city, it was at a personal sacrifice that he did this. Mr. Robins assumed his duties with an energy that betokened success. His

plan, which secured unanimous and hearty approval, was that the whole property be laid out in town lots and a regular system of public improvements be immediately begun. However, an oblong square of twelve acres on the highest ground should be reserved, as was the intention from the first, for the various seminary buildings which it was proposed to erect. In 1839 a public sale of lots produced \$10,000; in 1840 there was another which yielded \$5,000; a third in 1841 which brought in \$11,000 and a private sale in the fall of the same year amounted to \$3,000. In this way seventy-three acres were disposed of for \$29,000, thus leaving 198 acres to be sold, not including the sites of twelve acres for the seminary buildings.

In accordance with Mr. Robins' plan, public improvements were forthwith instituted. The public square was graded and enclosed with a neat fence, besides being embellished with a great variety of forest trees, evergreens and shubbery. When J. M. Peck visited the place in 1842 he "saw more than forty different species of shrubs and trees gathered from the adjacent forests to be transplanted on the college grounds." Streets were graded, the erection of the seminary buildings was begun and improvements were in evidence on every hand. "The activity thus manifested gave an earnest of the purpose of the executive committee to prosecute the enterprise with energy, and the purchasers were encouraged thereby to commence building and otherwise improving their property, and thus from that period the public and private improvements have been steadily advancing. So that within three years, extending up to the present time (1840-43) about 150 buildings have been erected within two squares of the public grounds."

An interesting and useful appendage of the property and one which shows the completeness of the plans which the executive committee had for the little city, of which the seminary was to be the center, was the Linden Grove Cemetery, located at the extreme southwestern limit of the whole tract. At the entrance to the cemetery stood the gardner's lodge, a neat brick edifice, and near the center of the grounds was the

receiving vault for the temporary deposit of bodies. The whole area of twenty-two acres was tastefully laid out and adorned with forest trees, shrubbery and evergreens. Adjoining it was another tract of thirty acres, mostly woodland, which, when necessary could be used for cemetery purposes. The owners of the property hoped to make it one of the most beautiful cemeteries in the West.

VII.

WESTERN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

"In conformity with the power granted by the constitution of the Western Baptist Education Society, the executive committee, having 'taken measures' as we have seen 'for the establishment of a theological institution' and having witnessed the 'success of such measures' and determined the location, character and general principle of the institution', proceeded to 'appoint its first trustees and to fix the terms of their offices' in accordance with the constitution of the society. In the winter of 1839-40 the trustees applied for, and obtained a liberal charter from the Legislature of Kentucky under the style of the 'Western Baptist Theological Institute of Covington, Ky.', under which charter the trustees forthwith organized themselves into a board and immediately afterwards the entire property held in trust by the Western Baptist Education Society, together with all its liabilities, was legally conveyed and transferred to the trustees of the Western Baptist Theological Institute."

The trustees of the Institute appointed by the executive committee and recognized in the charter were seven in number and were as follows: H. Wingate and C. Johnson, of Kentucky; E. Robins, S. W. Lynd, J. Stevens and T. Lewis, of Ohio; and J. L. Holman, of Indiana. It will be observed that the Ohio trustees constitute a majority of the board. They

were entitled to it since they had launched the enterprise and had borne the responsibility of all the financial burdens which had been incurred. Those who put most into anything are entitled to most share in its conduct. And so after six years a theological institution, the desire of many hearts, begins to emerge out of the realm of the possible into that of the probable, but it will be six years yet before it can be called a fact.

Mr. Robins was elected superintendent of the property in 1838, under appointment of the executive committee, but after the property passed into the hands of the trustees of the Western Baptist Theological Institute, February 5, 1840, he continued to serve in the same capacity. And it was while serving under the trustees as superintendent that the improvements mentioned above were accomplished by him. Pressure of private business caused Mr. Robins now to resign the superintendency, and when both Dr. Dillard and Dr. T. S. Malcom of Kentucky refused the position, it was offered to Rev. O. N. Sage, and by him accepted.

The property of the Institute is again coming into sore financial straits. The first report of the trustees, May 5, 1843, shows the total outstanding indebtedness of the Institute to be \$17,000. To offset this the Institute has unsold town lots, cemetery lots and woodland property, a moderate estimate of which amounts to \$111,000. Of the debt of \$17,000, \$5,000 is due immediately and \$5,000 more will be due in a year hence. If this amount, \$10,000, can be secured, the property of the Institute can be relieved of all embarrassment. The remaining \$7,000 can be deferred and paid from the proceeds of property at good prices. Up to this time the trustees had made no appeal to the liberality of the denomination, but the exigencies of the situation now compel them to that course. Unless help is immediate, they would be forced to dispose of much of the property at a sacrifice. They were loath to do this since their purpose was to hold the lots until they would command a good price and then invest the proceeds in the endowment of professorships and of a theological library. A sale of lots at this juncture would interfere seriously with this

plan, which, the trustees were persuaded, was of immense importance. It was at this time that the trustees inaugurated, or attempted to inaugurate, a series of collecting agencies in the Northwest, Southwest and East. They were under the conviction that something of this kind would be necessary to the endowment of one or two professorships. It was now time for the brethren in Frankfort and Lexington who had passed the encouraging resolutions in January 1835, to give substantial evidence of their sympathy. One agent spent a few months in Alabama chiefly, but his cash collections barely covered his salary and expenses, while another spent two years in Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana, and collected in cash a few hundred dollars beyond his expense and salary. His subscription received in those states amounting to \$10,000, was never paid. It was under these circumstances that Mr. Sage entered upon the discharge of his duties as superintendent of the property and financial manager. The outlook was not an encouraging one. Property values had decreased almost to a vanishing point, creditors were clamorous for their money and the credit of the Institute was prostrate. By the sale of lots, obtaining loans, securing accommodations at the bank, using his own credit, and also by his conciliating course and punctuality to meet every engagement, it was not long before he had "restored the credit of the Institute and good feeling among its creditors."

VIII.

THE INSTITUTE IN OPERATION—1845-1848.

As has been stated the beginnings of the Institute are to be found in the Western Baptist Convention which met in Cincinnati in 1833. It was chartered in 1840 and was opened in 1845. The reasons for this seeming delay are obvious. The trustees began without a dollar. Less than \$200 had been contributed to the Western Baptist Education Society, and this had been expended in meeting the necessary expenses of the Society.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the trustees and their financial agents for the shrewd business qualities manifested by them in the prosecution of the enterprise. It will be remembered that they were relying upon the increase in value of the land purchased by them for the possession of funds with which to erect the necessary buildings and provide, if possible, endowment for the professorships. They were decidedly averse to the sale at a sacrifice of their valuable property or of any part of it, but chose to wait until the improved financial condition of the country would make it to their advantage to sell. We must not forget that the trustees had to face the distressing condition which prevailed during Van Buren's administration. By the skillful management of their two financial agents they had overcome the most embarrassing situation—they had laid off in town lots the land which they had bought, they had built fences, constructed sidewalks, opened and graded and paved the streets, adorned the property with ornamental shrubbery and in less than a dozen years its value had advanced from \$35,000 to \$500,000.

For two or three years before the Institute opened, the buildings for the accommodation of students and professors were completed, but the trustees were moving cautiously lest the opening of the Institute, on account of financial embarrassment, should be soon followed by its close.

Let us notice the buildings of the Institute. They were three: The president's home or mansion, the professor's residence and the Theological Seminary Building. The first two buildings were a part of the purchases made in the summer of 1835. They had been previously used as the residence of the owners of the property, and were constructed after the fashion which obtained in the South in *ante-bellum* days. The president's home, for example, had two stories and a basement, was 82 feet in length and 34 feet in width. After needed repairs and slight alteration it was valued at \$6,500.

The professor's home was a substantial brick building, two stories in height, though not so extravagant in its dimensions as the former.

The Theological Building occupied the center of an oblong tract of twelve acres. It was 120 feet in length, 46 feet in width and four stories high. There were 48 rooms for students. The chapel and recitation rooms were on the first floor.

The cost was \$20,000, and was provided for out of a public sale of lots into which the property was divided.

J. T. Roberts, who was then pastor of the Baptist church at Covington, has left an interesting account of the exercises connected with the laying of the corner-stone of the Theological Building on Monday afternoon, August 3, 1840. A procession was formed in the city, and, accompanied by two bands of musicians marched to the property of the Institute, more than a mile distant. Addresses were made by Dr. Lynd, then pastor in Cincinnati; by Prof. Calvin E. Stowe of Lane Theological Seminary, and by Dr. Briggs, President of the College of Cincinnati. The corner-stone was laid with becoming ceremony, the benediction pronounced "and the company returned in procession with the two bands of musicians who were in attendance to give additional interest to the services."

Early in 1844 the trustees determined to open the Institute in the fall of the next year, and proceeded therefore to the selection of a competent faculty. It was their purpose to have men who were not only qualified for their work, but who would be acceptable to both sections of the country—North and South. At least three prominent ministers in the South were approached with a view to the presidency, but they declined being candidates. Then the board turned to the North and elected Dr. Barnas Sears of Newton, but he also declined. After making more appointments, which were declined, the board unanimously elected Dr. R. E. Pattison, president and professor of Christian Theology; Rev. A. Drury was chosen professor of Greek and Rev. Ebenezer Dodge was elected professor of Hebrew and Ecclesiastical History. These three constituted the faculty for the first year and then Rev. Ezekiel Gilman Robinson accepted the position vacated by Prof. Dodge and thus the faculty remained for two years. Prof. J. L. Reynolds at that time of Mercer University, was given an opportu-

ity of being a member of the first faculty. In the summer of 1844 he was sought after for the chair of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation, but declined. It was thus evident from the start that Southern men were not favorably disposed toward the Institute. The president of the Institute, R. E. Pattison, D.D., was a native of Vermont and, at the time of his election to the presidency, was in the prime of life, being not quite forty-five years of age. He stood second in a class of forty in Amherst College and, after his graduation, became tutor in Columbian College, Washington, D C., and then professor of Mathematics in Waterville College, now Colby University, Maine, and later became president of the college, serving in that capacity six years. He had been pastor at Salem, Mass., and at Providence, R. I. He reluctantly resigned his Providence pastorate to become secretary of the Home Department of the American Baptist Missionary Union, and in this relation he was frequently in the West, thus becoming conversant with its needs and difficulties. He was present at the Cincinnati convention in 1833, and also at subsequent conventions in Cincinnati and Louisville. He was therefore not a stranger to the conditions which he faced when he came to Covington as president of the Institute. Here, owing to the difficulties which arose in connection with his administration, he remained only three years. On leaving Covington, he was professor in Newton six years, professor of Theology in Shurtleff College the same length of time and after serving as professor in Union Baptist Theological Seminary at Chicago four years he died at the home of his son in St. Louis in 1874. In the East he was not regarded as a friend but rather as a foe to the abolitionists who disliked him because of his conservative attitude on the subject of slavery. As time went on it may be that he, as well as many others, saw there could be no neutral ground on that vexed question and consequently all who were not for it were looked upon as against it. There does not seem to be any doubt but that had he been more cautious and tactful while at Covington, the asperities of the situation would have been considerably mitigated. Dr. E. G. Robinson in his autobiography published

nearly fifty years later, speaks of him as "genial, warm-hearted and frank, a most agreeable colleague, both as professor and pastor." Dr. Robinson also says that "his mind had a singular capacity for forgetfulness." This mental characteristic may explain largely the contradictory attitudes which were attributed to him during the Covington troubles.

Ebenezer Dodge, the professor of Hebrew and Ec. History, was only twenty-six years of age when he assumed his duties. A graduate of both Brown and Newton, coming from the latter to Covington, he then began his career as a theological teacher and as such achieved eminent success at Hamilton, Madison, Rochester and Newton. After one year of service he resigned and his successor was Ezekiel Gilman Robinson. Surely these were not ordinary men who composed the first faculty of the Institute. With buildings and endowment which were, to say the least, unusual at that time, with such young giants as Dodge and Robinson, in the midst of a rapidly growing section, if the surroundings had been propitious, what might not the result have been? But it was decided otherwise. Prof. Robinson, like Dr. Pattison, was not unacquainted with Southern soil or sentiment. As pastor of the Baptist church at Norfolk for two years and Chaplain to the University of Virginia one session, he had enjoyed exceptional opportunity for acquiring a knowledge of Southern people. The following extract from a letter of Dr. Pattison to Dr. Lynd will show Prof. Robinson's attitude on the all-absorbing topic. "Robinson is an exceedingly upright and independent man. I doubt not that he is anti-slavery, but he is anti-abolition even to severity and as I sometimes think uncalled for. I rebuked him with reference to his general views on this subject. I thought if any one could secure the confidence of the Southwest *at this point*, without becoming a slave-holder, he could." He too was a Brown and a Newton man. His acquaintance with Dr. Pattison began at Providence when the latter was pastor of the Baptist church at the time that the former was a student at Brown. It was upon the recommendation of Dr. Wayland that Prof. Robinson became Dodge's successor.

The third member of the faculty was Rev. Asa Drury, who had formerly taught in the College of Cincinnati, and for two or three years had been pastor of the Covington Baptist church. He was professor of Greek but his chief duties were as principal of the preparatory department of the Institute. This was the literary arm of the Institute where candidates for the ministry might acquire training which would better prepare them for theological studies. The privileges of this department however, were opened to other than ministerial students. It seems to have been quite successful. During the first three years there was an average attendance of about fifty, only eleven of whom for that period were applicants for the ministry.

During this period, 1845-48, there were enrolled in the theological department of the Institute twenty-six students, distributed as follows: 17 from Ohio, 2 from New York, one each from Indiana, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Maine, and 3 from the South. Of the Southern students two were from Kentucky and one from Mississippi. Three students would hardly seem to be a fair representation from the South, and yet when in 1848 the Kentucky trustees were seeking to justify their attempt to exclusive control, they declared that "up to the summer of '47 the South had, under the circumstances, a fair representation of students in the institution." It depends upon one's conception of "fair". During the session of 1847-48 there were no students who entered the Institute from the South. In May 1847 the American Baptist Missionary Union which was the channel through which Northern Baptists conducted their benevolent enterprises, met in Cincinnati, and the faculty of the Institute became members of it. For this reason Dr. R. T. Dillard, who was one of the Kentucky trustees, and was regarded as one of the most prudent and conservative men in the denomination, withdrew his son from the Institute. As another evidence of Southern sentiment, it may be mentioned that three or four Baptist ministerial students who graduated from Georgetown College in 1845 went to Princeton for theological study.

If the Institute was fortunate in its faculty, it was none the

less so in the quality of the students who sought instruction there. They may have been few in numbers but they were men who "have stamped their brightness on the face of time". In the second graduating class there were, among others, William Moore, who went to preach the gospel among the Karens in Burmah. Failing health brought him back to America, where "with an unblemished reputation he filled up the measure of his days" and died in 1880; N. M. Wood, who returning to his native state, Maine, preached the gospel there with great success for twenty-one years and then came West to preach and teach theology in Shurtleff College. He was considered "a sermonizer of great power," and Colby bestowed upon him the doctorate. He died in 1876; and Rufus C. Burleson, who less than a dozen years ago concluded a career of extraordinary activity and usefulness in the Lone Star state. Coming to Texas when that state was in a formative period he did much to cast it in a Christian mold. He baptized Mrs. Dickenson, the heroine of the Alamo, and Gen. Sam Houston, the hero of San Jacinto. The most eminent men of the state were his pupils and friends and thus hardly did any sphere of life in Texas escape his touch. A bronze monument on the campus of Baylor University attests his fifty years of service as president of that institution, but a more enduring monument is that which shows itself in the position to which his denomination has attained and in the cause of Christian education to which he gave without stint the best that was in him.

The third, and in one sense the last, graduating class of the institute had in it two men of unusual power. The first of these, John Rathbone Downer, had previously graduated from Madison University and after leaving Covington, spent six years as a pastor in Ohio and Pennsylvania and then for thirteen years was professor in Granville College. In 1891 he was still living in Philadelphia, enjoying the repose which a useful and fruitful career confers.

The second and the most distinguished of all is William Ashmore, the missionary statesman of our denomination and one of the greatest missionaries of all times. He has seen

fifty years of service in China and now past eighty years of age his face is still toward the rising sun, his eyes undimmed and natural powers unabated.

It will be interesting at this point to notice the Rules and the Course of Study of the Institute.

A comparison of the catalogues of the Western Baptist Theological Institute and Southern Baptist Theological Seminary will reveal some interesting points of divergence. In the Institute there was only one course of study, denominated The Regular Course, which occupied two years, and no student was admitted to the Institute who would not sign the following declaration in the presence of the faculty: "I hereby declare that it is my purpose, Divine Providence permitting, to complete the regular course of studies in this Institute." Nor was approbation by the church of which he was a member sufficient for an applicant's admission, but in addition he was examined by the faculty in relation to his Christian experience and call to the ministry.

"No student is allowed to preach, at any time, without the knowledge and sanction of the faculty."

"If any student shall marry, during his connection with the Institute, he shall be dismissed."

"The students shall assemble every morning and evening for social worship, at such hours as the faculty shall appoint."

These restrictions would prove embarrassing to many theological students of the present day.

The course of study, though differently arranged was not altogether unlike that which now prevails in theological schools.

There were four departments: Biblical Literature and Interpretation, Ecclesiastical History and Greek Literature, Theology including Biblical and Systematic Theology and Evidences of Christianity, and Pastoral Theology which embraced Homiletics, Pastoral Duties, Ecclesiology and exercises in Composition and Elocution.

IX.

SOUTHERN ALOOFNESS.

Despite the location of the Institute on Southern soil, it was greeted with suspicion by the bulk of Southern Baptists and from the day that its doors were opened to students it gave promise of being a disturbing and not a unifying element among Western Baptists. This promise, unhappily, was ere long fulfilled.

The cause of this aloofness on the part of the Southern element of the denomination was to be found in what seemed to them the unnecessary importance given to the agitation of slavery. Until its extinction by the war of 1861-65, slavery had been the "Banquo's ghost" of our national life. The slave states were doing their utmost to hold in abeyance all discussion of it and the free states were as resolute to keep it always in the public eye.

Those who are removed several decades from this period of agitation and civil strife can have only an inadequate conception of the strained relations which then obtained between the two sections of our country. These strained relations, as has been intimated, exhibited themselves in religious as well as in secular concerns and hence shortly before and after the opening of the Institute there were not wanting evidences which could be easily construed by a jealous people as an attempted invasion of their constitutional rights. Let us notice some of these occurrences.

For thirty years, 1815-1845, the Triennial Convention was the medium through which the Baptists North and South effected their missionary designs—Home and Foreign. In the early years of its existence, so pronounced was the need for co-operative effort that the attempts to introduce matters about which there were honest differences of opinion were met with decided opposition from both sides. As the years went by, the unremitting efforts of the agitators of anti-slavery began to

produce the desired effect on both secular and religious pursuits and hence there arose an element in the Triennial Convention which began to oppose stoutly the recognition of slaveholding Baptists as associates in missionary work. This element, receiving almost no encouragement in the convention, was nevertheless undeterred in its purpose and in May 1843, in Tremont Temple, Boston, organized "The American and Foreign Missionary Society." This society was to be "distinctly and thoroughly separated from all connection with the known evils of slavery," and was to be composed "of members who are not slave-holders but who believe that involuntary slavery under all circumstances is sin and treat it accordingly."

This society had the cordial support of the abolitionists and it was evident that every effort would be made to weaken the allegiance which bound other Northern Baptists to the Triennial Convention.

It was the policy of the Triennial Convention to be entirely neutral on the subject of slavery but it soon became evident that this neutrality was assumed and not real. The convention had never appointed a Southerner as a missionary and there were those who said that it never would. A test case soon decided the attitude of the appointing board. In 1844 the executive committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention applied to the executive committee of the American Baptist Home Mission Society for the appointment to missionary service of James E. Reeve, a slave-holder, and accompanied their application with a proposition to supply the funds for his support in case of appointment. The Georgia board urged his appointment on the ground that it would stop the cavils of those who insisted that the declaration of neutrality on the part of the society was mere declaration and nothing more. Various were the conjectures in regard to the result, and the suspicion of Southern Baptists was no little awakened when in October, 1844, the executive board through its corresponding secretary, handed down its decision and the appointment was refused.

In the same year there was made public a letter containing the extreme of anti-slavery views, the author of which was

Francis Mason, a missionary in the employment of the Baptist board of Foreign Missions, located in Savoy, Burmah. Nothing illustrates better the efforts of the abolitionists to compass sea and land for purposes of proselytism than the circumstances which gave rise to this letter of Mr. Mason. In 1842 Lewis Tappan, treasurer of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, addressed a circular to Mr. Mason seeking to enlist his sympathies in the anti-slavery movement and inviting subscriptions for the escape of runaway slaves. Mr. Mason hesitated for over a year as to the course he should pursue until a present of a suit of clothes sent him by a slave-holding church caused him to decide the matter. He accordingly wrote to Mr. Tappan, expressing virulent opposition to slavery and characterizing it as "the foulest blot on the American flag," "the greatest sin that ever clothed itself under the cover of Christianity," and after expressing hope that "it will be brought down by the force of Christian principles," he proceeded to demonstrate his conception of that principle as well as to give a practical evidence of his sympathy with the object of the Anti-Slavery Society in the following words: "I have therefore the pleasure to enclose an order for \$10 *on our Treasurer* which I will thank you to pay over to the committee in New York *to assist in the escape of runaway slaves*." In view of the neutrality professed by the board it seemed strange to Southern Baptists that Mr. Mason should be retained as a missionary, and since he was being supported in part by Southern funds the conviction began to seize upon them that under the circumstances it would not be consistent with fairness for any further contribution to go from them into the Boston treasury.

The climax of these occurrences came in the fall of 1844. Although the Triennial Convention and its board at its last session in Philadelphia had resolved by an overwhelming majority that "we disclaim all sanction, either expressed or implied, whether of slavery or of anti-slavery," yet there was a sincere desire on the part of Southern Baptists to know how far the spirit of the resolution would be adhered to by the board. Accordingly the Alabama Baptist State Convention in its annual

session of 1844 addressed a series of resolutions to the Boston board requesting an explicit answer to the question whether slave-holders, otherwise unexceptionable and worthy, could receive appointment from the board. On December 17, 1844, the Boston board through its president and recording secretary issued a negative reply to the Alabama resolution. The acting board regarded that the issue had been thrust upon them but with "all frankness, kindness and respect defined their position." The essence of their reply is contained in the following: "If any one should offer himself as a missionary, having slaves, and should insist on retaining them as his property, we could not appoint him. One thing is certain: We can never be a party to any arrangement which would imply approbation of slavery."

As a result of this stroke the Southern Baptist Convention was organized in Augusta, Ga., in May, 1845, and from that

time to this the Northern and Southern Baptists have operated through their respective channels.

Many of the Northern brethren were displeased at this reply of the acting board and designated it as unwise, unauthorized, unnecessary and inconsistent. There was a general opinion that the Alabama resolution should have been submitted to a full meeting of the board in called or regular session or else referred to the convention in triennial session. This reply of the acting board to the Alabama resolution had a direct bearing upon the Institute. The trustees were desirous that the Institute should begin operation in the fall of 1845 and took measures to that end. Early in January, about two weeks after the Boston board had given its answer to the Alabama resolution Dr. R. E. Pattison was elected president of the Institute and soon thereafter came to Covington to prepare for the opening session. Now it happened that Dr. Pattison was a member of the Boston board that rendered the famous reply to the Alabama resolution and, in view of the excited state of the public mind, John L. Waller on May 5, 1845, addressed an open letter calling upon Dr. Pattison to define himself "in

relation to the document put forth by the board." This placed Dr. Pattison in an undesirable position. Should he announce himself in sympathy with that document he would alienate the Southern and Southwestern element which he was endeavoring to rally to the support of the Institute. If on the other hand he should pronounce himself as opposed to it, the inevitable result would be the withdrawal of Northern men and money by which the Institute had been brought thus far and without which ultimate success, he feared, could not be attained. Should he act in compliance with Waller's call, he would be compelled to array himself and the Institute on one side or the other of the vexed question and so contravene the purpose of its founders, which was that it be a school for all Baptists west of the Alleghany Mountains. There were many even in the South, disposed to censure Mr. Waller for thus handicapping Dr. Pattison at the inception of his duties and among them was J. M. Peck, who said that Dr. Waller had called upon Dr. Pattison "to do what no Christian man or gentleman in your circumstances ought to have done." For the reason above stated, Dr. Pattison declined to make a public reply, but wrote a personal letter to Dr. Waller in which his position was defined. Dr. Waller expressed himself as satisfied with Dr. Pattison's reply and was sure that it would have been satisfactory to the public, had it been made known. Anxious to remove every obstacle that might injure the Institute, the trustees at a special meeting on August 14, 1845, deemed it wise to issue a circular relative to the question put to Dr. Pattison in which they announced "that Dr. Pattison did not vote for or approve the resolution of the Board of Missions at Boston." It developed that Dr. Pattison was not present at that meeting of the board, being detained therefrom by sickness.

Dr. Pattison was likewise suspected of being the author of an anonymous letter to John Bushyhead. Bushyhead was a highly respected Indian Baptist preacher, a missionary of the Board of Foreign Missions and a slave-holder. This latter circumstance being distasteful to the Boston board, his resignation as a missionary was consequently procured, and there were

those who believed that Dr. Pattison was largely instrumental in procuring it. But this circular put forth by the board declared that "they have also ascertained that he (Dr. Pattison) is not the author of a letter to Mr. Bushyhead, nor to any friend of his to confer with him, in relation to the subject of slavery."

That this action of the board did not satisfy Kentucky Baptists is evident from the following resolution adopted by them at a meeting of the General Association in Georgetown, October 1845. "Resolved, That in the opinion of this Association, the Western Baptist Theological Institute ought not, under present circumstances, to receive the support of the Baptists of Kentucky." The Kentucky Baptists being close to the scene of action and their two editors, Waller and Buck, expressing themselves from time to time in no uncertain tones, it was to be expected that their attitude would prescribe the course for other Baptists in the South and Southwest who lived at distances more remote.

It will have been observed that the above occurrences took place before the Institute opened and that they were of such a character as to alienate the Southern people and perhaps render them unfriendly to Northern institutions. Nor did this feeling abate after the Institute had opened. With the dissolution of the Triennial Convention the Northern Baptists had formed the American Baptist Missionary Union as the channel of their missionary enterprises. In May 1847, the Union held its annual session in Cincinnati and the president of the Institute with the two professors—Robinson and Drury—became members of it. Thus in the minds of the Southern Baptists the professors and along with them the Institute were becoming more and more identified with the Northern side. If, thought they, the policy of neutrality on the slavery issue were to be maintained, then why should the president and professors of the Institute join the Missionary Union and not the Southern Baptist Convention? Would it not have been wiser for them to have refrained from membership in both bodies or else to have become members of both?

In September of the same year—1847—the Miami Association in which the Cincinnati churches are located, held its annual session and the Institute president and professors were present. This association passed a series of nine resolutions on different topics. The seventh resolution provided for an endorsement of the Western Baptist Theological Institute and it was passed after discussion by Dr. Pattison and others. Dr. Pattison then withdrew from the house. The eighth resolution contained a condemnation of slavery and after discussion was passed. Prof. Robinson, though, was not present during any part of the session at which the resolutions were adopted. The presence, however, of these two gentlemen at the association was equivalent, in the opinion of some south of the Ohio, to an acquiescence in the anti-slavery resolution and hence rendered their opposition to the Institute more and more pronounced.

During the session of 1846-47 there occurred an incident in Columbian College, Washington, D. C., which showed the tendency of even the conservative Northern element and at the same time confirmed the Southern people in their course. Capt. Thomas Haynes, a Virginian and a slave-holder, had been elected steward of the boarding department in the above named college. According to the custom of the times, slaves, when going from one state to another, were required to be registered. Capt. Haynes desired to carry with him two of his servants and before repairing to Washington sought the advice of an attorney who told him that registration was not necessary. After Capt. Haynes and his two slaves had been in Washington several months, it became known to some of the Northern students that the slaves were not registered and one of them took steps to procure their release. He therefore gave one of the slaves a note to an attorney and also provided him with money to pay the attorney's fee. This being communicated to Mr. Haynes, he resigned his position and with his slaves returned to Virginia. The student guilty of this interference, was, upon an investigation of his conduct, dismissed from the college. This student was not a beneficiary of the Northern Baptist Education Society, but that did not prevent the acting board of the so-

ciety at its meeting in April, 1847, from passing a resolution proscribing Columbian College as a slavery institution where "there is reason to fear that the purity and freedom of our beneficiaries may be jeopardized" and notifying the beneficiaries of the board, that, if they remained in Columbian, "no appropriation could be made for their benefit after the close of the present collegiate year." Although the action of the board was not unanimous, yet it was ratified by the Education Society in its annual meeting of a few months later.

It was also believed by the Southern Baptists that the purpose of the Northern Baptists was to secure gradually entire control over the Institute with the desire of making it a center for the dissemination of anti-slavery views throughout the entire Southwest. To this opinion Dr. R. B. C. Howell gave emphatic expression. It was his belief that just as the Free Communion Baptists of England had begun their work of proselyting by gaining control over all the Baptist schools, thus educating all the young ministers and thoroughly imbuing them with their principles until the Baptist churches throughout the kingdom had been brought within their ranks, so, he thought, it was not clear that our anti-slavery brethren were not pursuing the same policy. "If they are not, then how came it to pass that we have this anti-slavery seminary in a slave state, which desires to educate all our Southern young ministers?"

There were not wanting however, expressions from Southern sympathizers concerning the character of the views which were taught there. Rufus C. Burleson, of Alabama, who graduated from the Institute in 1847, assures the people of the South in a letter to the *S. W. Baptist Chronicle*, 5-7-'47, that the Institute "is not unfriendly to the South," that he is "a Southerner by birth, education and feeling," that he has been there "for two years," has watched everything with the utmost scrutiny and, says he, "I believe this is as safe a place to educate the young ministers of the South as any other." J. M. Frost then pastor of the Baptist church at Covington and a steadfast friend of the South, in a letter to the *Tennessee Baptist*, August 25,

1847, was firm in the persuasion that "Bible truth was taught in that institution, unmixed with any of the ultra notions of the North or anything inconsistent with Southern institutions."

Doubtless the attitude of the Kentuckians toward the Institute was to some extent determined by their interest in Georgetown College, for the success of which they were naturally solicitous. According to the custom of the times, every denominational institution made some attempt toward provision for theological instruction. Georgetown was no exception to the rule. The establishment of a well-endowed theological school only a few miles distant, with competent instructors, a full course of study, commodious buildings and ample pecuniary assistance for all who should come would interfere no little with the purposes of Georgetown to compass the same end.

Moreover, the establishment of the preparatory department of the Institute might lessen the patronage which would otherwise go to the Academy of Georgetown College.

It will also be remembered that, at the first two meetings of the convention, the only objection to the establishment of a theological institution arose from the apprehension that thereby the well-being of existing infant institutions would be imperiled. In order to show that the least feeling of hostility toward existing educational enterprises was altogether foreign to the purposes of those who were championing the movement for a separate theological school, the convention passed the three resolutions to which attention has already been directed—commending in no doubtful spirit the Baptist institutions at Upper Alton, Ill., and at Granville, Ohio, and also praising the efforts which were being made by the brethren in Indiana, Alabama, Tennessee and Michigan to establish similar institutions. In these resolutions there is no word of praise for Georgetown College, not even a reference to her. This seems strange. Was Georgetown to be regarded with indifference? Was her presence a menace to the proposed institution? Was there not sufficient room on Kentucky soil for both enterprises? Were the Kentucky Baptists alone expected to sacrifice their

desires and places for a state school in order that an institution of a general character might be established?

And was the failure on the part of the resolutions to recognize Georgetown College—whether intentional or not—in any wise responsible for the later attitude of Kentucky Baptists toward the Institute?

Kentucky, being a border state, was from that circumstance more sensitive to the prevailing conditions. Nor must we think that the Golden Rule afforded the principle of action to one side or the other in those trying times. It gave way more than once to the law of retaliation. Dr. Howard Malcom, who for ten years had been a most acceptable president of Georgetown College, was forced in August 1849, to yield to popular clamor and resign his position because he had voted for the emancipation candidates for Congress. Dr. Dillard, an ardent Southerner and a Kentuckian, for the same act was compelled to resign his trusteeship in the same institution.

It was into an atmosphere of this kind that the Western Baptist Theological Institute at its birth was placed and by which during its entire existence it was surrounded, an atmosphere surcharged with the most intense sectional feeling, which had been gathering volume and intensity for twenty-five years, which pervaded every domain of life and hence not even a theological school could expect exemption.

If the periods of civil strife and reconstruction at the South are to be called a time "which tried men's souls," then there would seem to be some propriety in designating the twenty years or more of antecedent agitation as a time when "judgment had fled to brutish beasts and men had lost their reason."

X.

A NEW ELEMENT IN THE CONTROVERSY.

It was evident that it would be only a question of time before these matters would be the subject of serious consideration

in the meetings of the trustees. In fact they had already been the theme of such consideration, the trustees from both sides of the Ohio uniting their labors and prayers for the success of the school. Whatever undercurrent of suspicion and antagonism may have existed, there was no manifestation of it until the quarterly meeting of the board in September of 1847. It came about in this wise:

During the summer of that year, rumors were afloat to the effect that the Ohio trustees were discussing the feasibility of moving the Institute across the river. Abolitionism was openly charged against the Institute and likewise so against the Baptist church at Covington. One of the Northern students was threatened with a club because he was merely suspected of being an abolitionist, threats were also made against the Institute and the president, and feeling in the town became so intense that Rev. J. M. Frost, the pastor of the Baptist church preached a sermon on satanic influence, in which he defended "the Institute and the church against the charge of abolitionism or any sectional tendency whatever." The subject of the sermon is clearly indicative of the source to which Dr. Frost would attribute the ill feeling at that time beginning to manifest itself in no uncertain way. Not long after Mr. Frost had made this public defense of the Institute, he was surprised to hear Dr. Pattison say that it was in vain to make further appeals to the South, and henceforth he would look to the North for students and for support. When to this Mr. Frost replied that it would be impossible to carry on in Covington an Institute wholly Northern, the answer of Dr. Pattison was, "then we must go where we can; we must move it over the river." Mr. Frost again replying: "I don't believe you can sell and move the Institute," Dr. Pattison answered that he had looked into the matter, "accompanying the expression with a significant nod of the head, showing clearly that it was no new thought with him." Mr. Frost communicated this conversation to the other trustees residing in Covington. Upon investigation they were convinced of the desire of the Ohio trustees to move the Institute across the river and therefore determined to bring together all

the Kentucky trustees at the approaching meeting of the board in September and make an attempt "to place the institution on a basis which would prevent the intended perversion and injustice." At this meeting which was held September 20, 1847, the Kentucky trustees submitted their complaints to the board and asked that two resolutions be passed—first, that the number of trustees in Cincinnati and Covington be equalized; and, second, "that an executive committee be appointed to whose care the whole property connected with the Institute, its management and sale, he confided." At this time Kentucky and Ohio each had seven trustees. Of the Kentucky trustees four lived in Covington and three in the interior, while all the Ohio trustees lived in Cincinnati. As the acting board was composed of the Cincinnati and Covington trustees, it was easy to see the purpose of the first resolution. The second resolution was designed to prevent the sale of the property of the Institute and its removal from Covington. Both resolutions were defeated. The Cincinnati trustees felt that they were entitled to a majority in the board, inasmuch as they had "enjoyed, undisturbed and unaided, the almost exclusive privilege of bearing the heavy burden connected with acquiring the property and laying foundations of the Institute." They also opposed the second resolution on business principles and "disowned explicitly and emphatically any such design" as had been attributed to them by the Kentucky trustees. One of the seven Cincinnati trustees was absent from the city at this meeting, and the detention by sickness of one of the Kentucky trustees alone prevented the latter from having a majority in the board.

The Kentucky trustees failing to accomplish their object at this meeting of the board, the Baptist General Association of Kentucky now intervened and sought to bring about an adjustment of affairs which would prevent the perversion of the Institute and its transfer from the state. At its annual meeting that year a committee was appointed consisting of Thos. Y. Payne, D. R. Campbell and J. M. Frost who should confer with the trustees at the quarterly meeting in December, and procure an amicable and satisfactory adjustment of affairs. The

Cincinnati trustees being informed of this action of the Association "held a meeting for consultation by themselves and determined it to be sternly necessary as a measure of safety to elect new trustees so as to restore the majority to Ohio." This was done at a called meeting of the board, October 23, at which four new trustees were elected—three from Cincinnati and one from the interior of Kentucky, "seventy or eighty miles distant, two other suitable nominations in the vicinity of Covington having been rejected." The acting board now stood as follows: Ten in Cincinnati and three in Covington.

On the 20th of December the board assembled in regular session and the following resolutions, with an appropriate preamble, were submitted by the committee from the Kentucky General Association:

"Resolved, first, We the trustees and faculty (some of the trustees being slave-holders) are associated together on terms of the most perfect social and moral equality, for the promotion of ministerial education and that whatever may be our sentiments on the subject of slavery as it now exists in the United States and whether any one or more of the trustees or faculty of this institution be slave-holders, it shall not in the least affect our Christian fellowship, nor the cordial co-operation of the trustees and faculty of the Western Baptist Theological Institute located at Covington, Ky. Resolved, Second, That an equal number of trustees to control and direct said Institute shall be appointed in the two positions or sections of the country, denominated as North and South. Resolved, Third, That any member of the trustees or faculty may associate either with the Baptist Missionary Union or the Southern Baptist Convention, or any similar society North or South, for missionary purposes, without affecting in the least his relation or standing with the officers of the Institute. Resolved, Fourth, To give the friends North and South the most perfect assurances that the Institute shall be conducted according to the foregoing principles of perfect equality; it is hereby agreed that whenever any of the trustees or faculty of the institution shall depart from the above principles, he shall thereby forfeit his place in

said institution, and another may be selected in his place in pursuance of the charter. Resolved, Fifth, That the trustees and faculty of said institution shall subscribe to the above principles of equality, and the same shall be spread upon the records of the institution and incorporated into the charter." The committee having presented these resolutions "assured the board repeatedly that they were not wedded to them in the exact form in which they were drawn up" and that they would yield to any alteration of them provided their general spirit be preserved.

A committee, consisting of three from Cincinnati and two from Kentucky, was appointed to report on the resolutions a month hence. The committee was not able to agree and as a result two reports were submitted. The report of the majority presented by the Cincinnati trustees recommended that the resolution of the committee from the General Association of Kentucky be not adopted. It will be best here to let the committee speak in its own words. "The first proposition, calling for a declaration of the moral equality of slave-holders and non-slave-holders, seems indefinite and, at least, capable of such an interpretation as to render it liable to serious objection."

"The second proposition, asking an equal number of trustees South and North, calls for a change which your committee are not prepared to recommend for adoption. Several main considerations seem to your committee abundantly sufficient to justify allowing the majority of the resident trustees to remain as it has ever been. The large majority of numbers and influence is in Cincinnati. The location of the Institute on the soil, among the people and under the laws of Kentucky, may with propriety, be counterbalanced in this way. The chief burden of labor, expense and responsibility hitherto borne by those in Cincinnati, gives a claim which did not at first exist to a majority."

"To the third proposition your committee perceive no objection."

"The fourth proposition contemplates impeachment, trial, condemnation and all without laying down or referring to any

law or naming any tribunal. Its adoption in its present form would expose us as a board to inextricable difficulties at every step. We cannot recommend it."

"The fifth proposition will be of no account without the preceding. Comment upon it is waived."

The adoption of this report submitted by the Northern side of the committee ruled the minority report presented by Drs. Campbell and Frost out of consideration. The president of the board however, out of courtesy, decided that it might be discussed in sections. As the resolutions of the Kentucky General Association were a part of the minority report, they accordingly came up for discussion. The first two resolutions were the most important, and consequently elicited prolonged discussion. One of the Cincinnati trustees moved to amend the first by taking out the clause "some of the trustees being slave-holders" and then spoke in favor of its adoption. This was stoutly opposed by Dr. Pattison, who was present and participated in the proceedings. More interest was centered around the second resolution which asked an equal number of trustees, not from Kentucky and Ohio, nor from Covington and Cincinnati, but from the two sections denominated North and South. The discussion of this resolution evoked in its behalf the cordial support of two of the Cincinnati brethren—Trevor and Bevan. Trevor's appeal to the board was particularly pointed. He insisted that the resolution was fair and reasonable, that it simply asked that the South have an equal voice with the North, that there was no slavery in it, and no objection, that he could see, to it. Trevor voted with the South on the first and both Trevor and Bevan with the South on the second. Both resolutions being rejected, there was no discussion on the remaining three, as they were, without the first and second, unimportant. Having failed again to secure the recognition for which they asked, the Kentucky trustees now desired the Cincinnati trustees to declare "what they would regard a just and honorable compromise of the difficulty."

It was at this juncture in the proceedings that Dr. Pattison signified to the Kentucky members that their object could not

be attained, that he had "made up his mind to carry on the institution without the South" and suggested to them that they "encourage the movement to erect a Southern institution in Tennessee or Mississippi, around which all the Southern fire will gather and leave us alone here."

Thus the Kentucky trustees had made two ineffectual attempts to secure what, in their opinion, belonged to them, and now turned to what seemed to them their last resource—the Legislature of the State of Kentucky. This body was now in session and as it had reserved the right to "alter, amend or repeal" the charter of the institution whenever it should deem proper to do so, they determined to apply to it for a redress of their wrongs. They accordingly sought and obtained an amendment to the charter which transferred the entire management of the Institute from Ohio to Kentucky. Section one of the amendment provided that sixteen new members be added to the board; section two provided that all subsequent trustees be citizens of Kentucky, and section three provided that no sale of any part of the estate of the Institute be allowed, save at a regular meeting of the trustees, a majority of whom should be present and a majority concurring therein. This amendment was approved January 28, 1848, just eleven days after the last meeting of the board.

The Kentucky trustees pursued the above course without apprising the Cincinnati trustees of their design. They felt that they were under no obligations to do this for two reasons: First they had resisted all efforts for a compromise and declared that they had no concessions to make; and second, by virtue of the power vested in them as a board, had they been informed of the plan to seek legislative interference, they could have nullified all the vacancies in the board with citizens of Cincinnati, and could have made such other arrangement as would have practically nullified the action of the Legislature. Beyond not apprising the Ohio trustees of their purpose, the Kentucky trustees disclaimed any idea of secrecy. Their application to the Legislature was received and disposed of in the usual way with no attempt at concealment.

XI.

DOCUMENTARY PROOF.

The action of the Kentucky trustees in thus assuming entire control over the Institute did not receive flattering support from the South in so far as that could be divined from the religious press. Many of the papers preserved a severe silence, deeming the matter too important to be discussed with a limited knowledge of the facts at their disposal. The *S. W. Baptist Chronicle*, published in New Orleans, deplored their action, while well-meant as none the less "premature and unjustifiable."

The Baptist Banner, of Louisville, greeted it with cheerful acquiescence and thought that the Kentucky trustees were to be commended for the performance of the task assigned them. According to Editor Buck's statement, the General Association of Kentucky instructed its committee to compromise matters if possible and in case they failed "they were instructed to apply to the Legislature and to have the charter so amended that a majority, at least, of the trustees should be resident citizens of Kentucky." So it seems that the Kentucky Association is in part responsible for the action.

The Kentucky trustees would hardly have assumed a task of such delicacy without first seeking the advice of their brethren of the General Association. That they did seek it and that they did what was expected of them, seems reasonably certain from the statement of Mr. Buck. The action of the General Association held in Danville in the autumn of 1847 did not authorize the committee in so many words, to seek the aid of the Legislature, but it did require of them "to adopt such measures as may be necessary to make said Institution effectual in carrying out the objects of the charter for the Baptists of this state upon the plan and basis upon which it was chartered by Kentucky."

In view therefore of the above resolution of the General Association and of the statement of editor Buck, it would seem

that there was an understanding between the Kentucky trustees and the leading men of the Association that the interference of the Legislature was to be sought, should other means prove unavailing.

The Northern papers, as was to be expected, condemned it severely; although the tone of some, e.g., *The New York Recorder*, was mild and reserved, yet their mildness was not to be construed as implying the least approval of Kentucky's course. The complaint of the Kentucky trustees had been that although they had representation in the board, yet the majority of the board being from Ohio, the entire control of the institution was virtually theirs. The recent amendment to the charter, secured by the Kentuckians, had completely dispossessed the Ohio trustees, and thus the former made themselves guilty of the same act with which they had so persistently charged the latter. "Of this mode of reciprocation," says editor Buck, "our brethren cannot complain because they are treated just as they have treated the South." However, the Kentucky trustees in the statement that they set forth in vindication of their course, announced it to be their intention "as soon as our rights were secured and respected," to repeal that clause in the amendment enacting that all future elections for trustees shall be confined to citizens of Kentucky.

They also said that it was their purpose at the quarterly meeting in March "to adjust the whole affair so as to show the world that they sought only their rights and these rights sacredly respected." At this meeting, though, the Ohio trustees refused to recognize the Kentucky trustees, insisted that the legal rights in the case were on their side and hence no adjustment occurred.

It has been stated that the occasion for legislative interference on the part of the Kentucky trustees lay in their discovery of an alleged design on the part of the Ohioans to sell the property of the Institute and, with the proceeds, establish another school across the river. The rumors to that effect which were afloat during the summer of 1847, and the conversation between Dr. Pattison and J. M. Frost, has been recorded above.

It now remains to substantiate those with documentary proof. At the quarterly meeting in September of 1847, when the Kentucky trustees made known to their Ohio brethren of the board, the report which had come to them concerning the design for the sale and removal of the Institute, "the Cincinnati trustees disavowed explicitly and emphatically any such design and all knowledge of any such measure." That the subject of removal though had been a serious one with Dr. Pattison, is shown by the following: In a letter addressed by him to Dr. Lynd of St. Louis and bearing the date of September 1, 1847, occur the following sentences: "Nor do I believe that it is possible for North and South to co-operate in any public enterprise." "If this were given up to the South, I have no idea they would sustain it, even if every trustee on the other side of the river should resign and give them the whole control. But if they were willing to do so, would it be right?" "Supposing but one party to have the property, to whom does it in equity belong?" "It strikes me that the people of the North did all the work and complimented the South with half the honor."

In another letter dated September 18, 1847, addressed to Dr. Lynd, is the following: "The only question is, if the Institute is rejected by the South and Southwest, have the trustees a right, I mean a moral right, as I know they have a legal one, to remove the property and site across the river to Cincinnati?" In a postscript to the same letter is found the following: "This is an excellent place for a literary institution. Suppose we should leave the building and enough ground for premises, and the cemetery, which would be an annual income of from five to ten hundred dollars, and take the remainder, say \$80,000, would this be right? First place, the theological school is of no use to this place, nor to Kentucky with their present feelings; but a literary institution is greatly needed and might be made of much value to the Baptists of the West."

At the time of this correspondence with Dr. Lynd, Dr. Pattison was also corresponding with J. M. Peck on the condition and prospects for the Institute, and gives expression to the same views on removal. In a letter written by him to J. M.

Peck, and bearing the date, September 13, 1847, we find the following: "The question is, who is to have this property and institution? Both cannot have it. In this, I believe, all here are agreed. The first question is, if one only can have it, to whom does it belong?" "The question is, then, if we can legally, would it be right to translate it? Mississippi and Alabama have given about \$2,500—that could be refunded if requested. Do you say that a division would be right?" "Would it be right to give the South the building for a literary school and some lands for small endowment? I wish to do right, but we cannot sit still and see this great institution of good broken into pieces wantonly."

Whether the Cincinnati trustees shared with Dr. Pattison this interest in sale and removal—we do not pretend to say. But that one of them did—J. Stevens—is evident from a letter written by him to Dr. Pattison in June 1848, in which he stated that the sale and removal of the Institute had been discussed by them, but that said sale and removal were to be effected only "by mutual agreement of its friends, both Northwest and Southwest."

The Kentucky trustees charged the Ohio trustees with a design to sell the Institute to Catholics. This the Ohio trustees denied. The financial agent, Mr. Sage, admitted that he offered to sell to Bishop Purcell such lots as had been designated for sale to any purchasers, in order to provide the Institute with the necessary funds; but denied positively that this offer included the Institute buildings or any of the ground reserved for its permanent use. To this statement and denial of Mr. Sage, the Kentucky trustees offered the following certificate: "I certify that a gentleman whom I took to be a clergyman connected with the Baptist college or seminary in Covington, called on me several months ago, and asked me to purchase the College and a portion of the adjoining grounds." This was dated March 15, 1848, and signed by John D. Pursell, Bishop of Cincinnati.

Of the same tenor as the above is the following signed by C. H. Harwood, a reputable citizen of Cincinnati.

"This is to certify that more than a year ago, the Rev. O. N. Sage, agent for the Baptist college in Covington, told me that, if the college was not sustained, they should move it to Cincinnati. In fact, says he, (in that event) we have been already looking out a site to erect the buildings. He requested me to keep it a secret, as it would not do to talk about at that time; and in accordance to that request, I never told out of my family, until I heard that a part of the trustees, agents, etc., were trying to dispose of it to the Catholics. I then thought it my duty to communicate it to friends of the college and I did so to a Baptist brother in Covington.

"Given under my hand, in Cincinnati, the 17th of March 1843.

(Signed) "C. H. HARWOOD."

In view of the above the Kentucky trustees believed that they had indisputable proof of a design on the part of their Cincinnati brethren to sell and remove the Institute and hence their recourse to the Kentucky Legislature. It was the contention of the Ohio trustees that the Kentucky trustees had not invested in the Institute a sufficient amount of labor and money to justify them in having equal representation in the board with them and that the majority held in the board by them was counter-balanced by the location of the Institute on Kentucky soil. That the Kentucky trustees took no interest in the enterprise, does not by any means appear. That the Ohio trustees from the inception of the enterprise in 1833 to the unfortunate occurrences of 1848, bore the burden of the Institute is very apparent. The relation which they sustained to their brethren in Kentucky and in the Southwest was not unlike that which existed between Baptists North and South in the Triennial Convention. It was plain that Northern men and money were in the ascendency in the councils of that body, but that they were willing that the Southern Baptists co-operate with them as far as they could. That Ohio men and means were the dominant forces in the establishment of this theological school for the Baptists of the West is quite clear, yet

they invited the co-operation of the Southwest by placing the Institute among them and giving them a representation commensurate with their efforts in its behalf. If, after the Kentucky trustees came into possession of the Institute, we are to believe their declaration of a purpose to yield the supremacy as soon as their rights were respected, we must also give credence to the assertion of the Cincinnati trustees that it was never their purpose to retain permanently the ascendancy in the board. They had launched the enterprise and regarded it as their duty to remain at the helm until the tentative stage was passed. The money with which to effect the purchase of land in 1835 was secured from a Northern man and the loan was negotiated by Northern men living in Cincinnati.

The two financial agents who at different times saved the enterprise from its pecuniary embarrassment were Northern men.

When the Institute opened in 1845, there were some in Cincinnati who subscribed \$50 a year for three years so as to insure the salary of the president, though not all of it was paid; and also \$900 was donated at different times by Cincinnati friends for the support of the faculty so as to save the property from being sold at a sacrifice. To this must be added the donation of \$1,750 for services rendered as financial agent by E. Robins. In 1837 Mr. Robins living in Cincinnati was engaged as financial agent of the property, and, though doing business in Cincinnati, he took up his residence on the Institute property for reasons that are obvious. During this period of five years or more he continued his business in Cincinnati, maintained his church relation there and on resigning his position as manager of the property, donated the board his salary as stated above and moved back to Cincinnati. Because of his residence in Covington, the Kentucky trustees claimed his donation should be placed to their account. This the reader can decide.

It will be remembered that prior to the opening of the Institute, two agents were engaged to solicit funds in its behalf in Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama. While so employed,

these agents collected a sum sufficient to pay their salaries and traveling expenses which amounted to \$2,500. These three states therefore were, to that extent, benefactors of the Institute, and the Kentucky trustees naturally regarded themselves as the guardians of their interests. But there is no evidence that these Southern states advised the Kentuckians to seek redress from their state Legislature nor that they concurred in it after it had been obtained.

The Kentucky trustees also claimed that three citizens of Covington subscribed \$100 per annum for three years towards the president's salary, but that it was never paid because it was not called for.

The only cash contributed that came to the Institute from Kentucky were \$10 from Hon. C. Johnson in 1835 and \$5 from T. S. Malcom, a Northern Baptist minister, residing at the time in Louisville. With a knowledge of these facts the Ohio trustees questioned the fairness of Kentucky's demand to equal representation and also reprobated the act by which she gained entire control.

XII.

A STORMY SESSION.

The Cincinnati trustees being informed of the nature and contents of the amendment to the charter of the Institute consulted together as to the course to be pursued by them at the approaching quarterly meeting of the board in March. The main question was: Should they give their assent to the amended charter. Their decision was not to accept the amendment, and for the following reasons: First, they regarded it as illegal; second, if legal, it was morally wrong and, third, the result of its acceptance "would be to sever the Institute entirely and permanently from the sympathies and confidences of the whole Northwest." They also prepared a protest to be read should their efforts to prevent its acceptance be unavailing.

The quarterly meeting of the board held March 20, 1848, brought together all the members of the old board and almost all the new trustees were likewise present. In accordance with their previous resolution, the Ohio trustees voted not to accept the amendment. Seeing that they were outnumbered they proposed to the Kentucky trustees the appointment of a commission to arbitrate the matters in dispute. This being refused, they then proposed a General Convention of Western Baptists to which the case should be submitted. This too, was rejected, as was also their third and last request that both the old and new members spend an hour in conference with a view to devise some plan of adjustment. An attempt was then made to read the protest of the Ohio trustees but this was interrupted. All hope of adjustment being removed one of the Northern trustees said: "Gentlemen, if you can afford in this manner to take the Institute, we can as well afford to lose it."

After adjournment the Kentucky members, old and new, formed a separate board and sent a committee to Dr. Pattison and Prof. Robinson requesting them to recognize their authority or else retire at the close of the session in June. They chose to retire. Prof. Robinson said to them: "I have known something of violent abolitionists in the North and by the grace of God have succeeded in keeping them at arm's length. All you have to do is to change places with that kind of man to change characters with them. I have no disposition to work with either class." Instantly the six Kentuckians jumped to their feet. They were indignant and the young professor was no less so.

In taking our leave of these two gentlemen, suffice it to say that Dr. Pattison went from Covington to a professorship in Newton Theological Seminary, while Prof. Robinson became pastor for four years of the Ninth Street Baptist church in Cincinnati, succeeding the eloquent though erratic Magoon.

Mr. Sage, the financial agent of the Institute, was summarily dismissed from his office and was requested to deliver to the Kentucky trustees all papers which concerned the business of the Institute. This he refused to do but instead committed them

to the president of the old board. This action of his occasioned a law suit which resulted in favor of the Kentucky trustees. Mr. Gorman, the steward, who had been in charge of the Institute building, was directed by the Ohio trustees to keep possession. The Kentucky trustees took out a writ of ejectment, and this caused another legal action which was also decided in their favor. Mr. Gorman accordingly retired from the premises, leaving the doors barred. Mr. Sage, being requested to turn over the keys of the college building to the new board "stated that he had none and supposed that the outside door keys were lost." This made it necessary for the Kentuckians to use force so as to effect an entrance and also explains an item in the minutes of the executive and financial board, dated June 23, 1848: Ordered that the secretary procure bolts for the north doors and locks for the south doors of the halls of the college building, and report the cost of bolts and locks.

XIII.

A NEW START.

The Kentucky trustees now had entire control of the Institute and announced it to be their purpose to administer their trust in accordance with the policy of its founders—i.e., without discrimination in regard to slavery. They also declared that it was their intention, as soon as litigation ceased, to repeal that article of the amendment providing for a majority of Kentucky trustees on the board.

The Kentuckians believed that the Institute, a majority of the trustees being from Ohio, was being diverted from the ends for which it was founded; and to prevent further diversion, they sought and obtained legislative interference. But they also declared that, as soon as the Institute in their opinion was safe, the North should have equal representation with them.

The Ohio trustees having received an adverse decision in

the local courts, had appealed their case to the Supreme Court of Kentucky and hence the Kentucky trustees could not feel sure of their position until the higher court had rendered its decision.

The withdrawal of Dr. Pattison and Prof. Robinson left the Institute without a theological faculty. Prof. Asa. Drury who had the chair of Greek and was also in charge of the literary department accepted the authority of the new board and was retained.

Dr. Richard Fuller was offered the presidency at a salary of \$1,500 per annum and a home. Prof. J. L. Reynolds, of Richmond, Va., was sought for as professor of Biblical Literature and Interpretation at a salary of \$1,000 and a home. The declination of both these made it necessary to seek elsewhere and accordingly Drs. S. W. Lynd and Duncan R. Campbell were secured for the presidency and professorship respectively.

Much was expected of Dr. Lynd as president. He had been eminently successful as a pastor in Cincinnati for fifteen years, his disposition was pacific and conciliatory and he was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the Institute, being the chairman of the board from its organization to his removal to St. Louis. At the time of his election he was editor of *The Western Watchman* of St. Louis and also pastor of one of the churches there. An anti-slavery man, he was not regarded by the Kentuckians as an abolitionist though there were some of Northern sympathies who sought to create dissatisfaction with him alleging that his anti-slavery views were of a very pronounced character.

Dr. Campbell was a learned Scotchman who had been a Presbyterian pastor in his native land. Coming to America, he became a Baptist, was baptized by Dr. Jeter in Richmond, where for a few years he was the pastor of Leigh Street Baptist church. Failing health brought him to Kentucky and at the time of his election to the professorship he was pastor of the church at Georgetown.

The Literary Department of the Institute opened as usual in September under the control of Prof. Drury. The Theological

Department opened in January 1849, Dr. Lynd not being able to leave St. Louis until that time. During that half session there was only one student of theology enrolled. The next session, 1849-50, saw nine students in the Department of Theology, as did also the following session, 1850-51. In addition to the nine of this session, there were also nine in the Literary Department, making a total of eighteen theological students for that session. It was during this session that E. J. Owen, a native of New York and a graduate of Georgetown, became a member of the faculty as adjunct professor of Greek and Hebrew. The Literary Department of the Institute was only a preparatory school, making no pretension whatever to the exercise of college functions. With the close of the session 1850-51, the preparatory feature was abolished, possibly out of deference to the Academy of Georgetown College with which it had no desire to conflict. With the discontinuance of the Preparatory Department there were instituted full college courses in English, Latin, Greek and Mathematics which were also offered to the students in conjunction with their theological studies. During the next session, 1851-52, there were twenty-five students of theology of whom five were graduates.

It will be observed that there was an increase of students each year under the new regime. However, during the next session, 1852-53, there were only seventeen enrolled. This decline may be attributed to the feeling of uncertainty caused by the litigation which was now in progress. It will be remembered that in the spring of '48, the Kentucky trustees instituted legal proceedings against Mr. Sage, the financial agent of the Institute, to secure possession of all papers relative to the business of the Institute. This suit was decided in the local courts against Mr. Sage. The case had been appealed to the Supreme Court of Kentucky, was now before that tribunal and a decision was being daily expected. On the 23rd of February, 1853, the decision came and the result was a reversal of the decision of the lower court. The decision was rendered by Justice Crenshaw who held "that the Legislature had not the power under the right reserved 'to alter, amend or repeal' the

act of incorporation, to force upon the board of old trustees without their consent additional trustees. Such an exercise of power is not within the scope of the authority reserved 'to alter, amend or repeal,' but is an attempt to associate with the corporation persons whom they are not willing to accept, and thus, in effect, make a new contract by introducing new parties to an existing contract, without the consent and contrary to the will of a part of the original contracting parties. The act of the Legislature creating, without the consent of the board, additional trustees is held to be unconstitutional." The style of the case is *Sage vs. Dillard* and is reported in Vol. 15. *Ben Monroe Reports*.

XIV.

AGREEING TO DISAGREE.

The decision recorded above put the control of the Institute again into the hands of the old board, a majority of which were Northern men. Even now it seemed as if litigation would continue. The Kentucky trustees moved a reopening of the case in the Court of Appeals, while the Ohio trustees were preparing by process of law to exact from the new board an account of their stewardship which the Appellate Court had declared to be unconstitutional and void. A strong element, however, which was making for peace and for a fair division of the property of the Institute, finally triumphed. This was due in large measure to the magnanimity of Ebenezer Lane, a Baptist attorney whose benefactions had furnished a name for the Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati. He was the counsel of the Northern trustees in their contemplated suit against the Kentucky trustees but generously agreed for the sake of peace and Christian fellowship "to waive the suit for which he had long been laying the foundation at much expense, anxiety and pecuniary hazard, and in consequence to him, in case of successful issue, of which the prospects were

favorable." Both parties assented to arbitration and chose Justice McLean of the Supreme Court of the United States as arbitrator. After hearing the case, he decided that the property should be divided equally between the contending parties. This agreement was reached September 20, 1853, and was ratified by an act of the Kentucky Legislature January 28, 1854. This amendment gave to the old board full power to make all sales, full power to change the location from Covington to Georgetown, provided a majority of the trustees south of the Ohio concur, and repealed the unconstitutional section of the charter as amended in 1848. At this time \$250,000 would have been a fair estimate of the value of the property. Large sums of money, though had been borrowed by both the old and new boards, and when these, with the accumulated interest, had been refunded, together with taxes, attorney's fees and the necessary expense incident to the closing up of a large estate it is evident that the above amount would be much reduced.

The library of the Institute went to Granville College, now Denison University. The Northern trustees used their half in promoting the Fairmount Theological Seminary at Cincinnati. This institution, like its predecessor, gave promise of much usefulness, but after a career of four or five years it encountered financial reverses and went out of existence.

The Southern trustees proposed to apply their portion to the establishment of the Institute at Georgetown in connection with the college located there; and from now on until 1890 our information concerning it is to be largely derived from the catalogues of the college. The proceeds of the Covington property not being presently available, the authorities of the college agreed to supply the means with which to start anew the work of the Institute. After a suspension of eight months, perhaps in January 1854, the Institute resumed operation with Dr. Lynd as Professor of Theology, assisted by Dr. Campbell, who in the summer of 1852 had resigned his Covington professorship to accept the presidency of Georgetown College. The arrangement seemed to be a happy one. The Institute was subject to no expense for buildings, the students enjoyed free

tuition in the college, if they desired it, and Dr. Campbell offered his services free of all charge as long as the funds of the Institute were unavailable. The only expense, therefore, was to provide for the salary of Dr. Lynd. Thus matters went on till the summer of '56, when Dr. Lynd withdrew. During he session of '56-57 "vigorous efforts were made to reopen the Institute permanently at Georgetown" and meanwhile the only instruction given was that in Hebrew and Theology by Dr. Campbell. The catalogue of '57-58 announces that the Institute "was permanently opened at Georgetown last September." The faculty now consists of D. R. Campbell and N. M. Crawford, the former teaching Biblical and Pastoral Theology, the latter Hebrew and Exegetical Theology. After serving one year, Dr. Crawford retired and was succeeded by Rev. George Hunt, A.M. This arrangement continued till the summer of '61, the attendance averaging about twelve students per session. Both college and Institute suspended the first two years of the civil war, but were in operation the last two. The catalogues for those two years simply announce that "the connection of the college with the Western Baptist Theological Institute will enable students to prosecute their studies simultaneously in both." No professors of theology are named, and doubtless the arrangement, if any, was such as obtained during the session of '56-57.

During the next five years Dr. Crawford is president of the college, and he, with Cadwallader Lewis and later with Henry McDonald, constitutes the faculty of theology. The catalogues for this period are silent as to the number of theological students. A catalogue of '70-71 bearing Dr. Manly's name has a foot note, presumably in his handwriting, to the effect that "no regular course in theology is taught. All the young men having the ministry in view are pursuing academic or collegiate studies." In '71 Dr. Basil Manly became president of the college and he and Dr. Henry McDonald composed the faculty of theology. For the first three years of Dr. Manly's incumbency there seems to have been a revival of interest in the work of the Institute. During the session of '72-73 there were

twenty-four students enrolled and the next session there were twenty-six. For the next five years each catalogue contains only a small paragraph setting forth the connection between the Institute and the college. In '79 Dr. Manly returns to his professorship in the Seminary at Louisville and from that time on no mention is made of theological instruction in the college nor of any connection between it and the Institute.

What disposition must be made of the funds of the Institute? Shortly after the rupture between the Ohio and Kentucky trustees in '48, and when the new board was in sore need of funds for the prosecution of the work of the Institute, the trustees of Georgetown College at their regular meeting in June, 1848, recorded their "greatest solicitude for the prosperity of the Institute" and their willingness "to loan said Institute any sum of money" under their control, "provided it be well secured and the interest paid punctually every six months." Shortly thereafter an agreement was made between the trustees of the Institute and of the Kentucky Baptist Education Society by means of which all collections made for the society in this vicinity should be used by the Institute, provided the interest on the same be promptly paid.

In accordance with this arrangement it was not long before the Institute had procured more than \$5,000 from the society and there is reason to believe that the interest was not always promptly paid. It must also be remembered that, for years after the removal of the Institute to Georgetown, the salary of the theological professors was paid out of the treasury of the college, and in addition to the growing indebtedness to Georgetown College, there was also a depreciation in value of some of the holdings of the Institute.

It was therefore evident that, when a final disposition of the affairs of the Institute was made, the college would be a preferred and perhaps the only creditor. The denominational press in the early fifties shows that there were not wanting those who were disposed to resent the alliance of the Institute which was intended for the entire Southwest, with a local institution. But as time passed, there was manifested an increas-

ing disposition to forget the unfortunate condition which centered about the Institute and to permit its trustees to dispose of its funds in whatever way seemed good to them.

During the session of the Kentucky Legislature of '89-90 an act was passed permitting the trustees of the Institute to transfer all the holdings of said Institute to the Kentucky Baptist Education Society. On June 11, 1890, a committee of the society accepted the proposition and appointed another committee to confer with a similar committee from the trustees of the Institute. The holdings of the Institute consisted of 226 shares of bank stock, two mortgage notes and three individual notes—making a total of \$39,753. Some of these however, were worthless.

On June 9, 1891, the two committees met, effected the transfer and the Western Baptist Theological Institute as a chartered institution was dissolved.

Sic Obit.

CONCLUSION.

The property bought by the trustees of the Western Baptist Education Society seventy years ago for \$33,250, is now worth at its lowest estimate \$3,000,000. Then it was a mile or more from Covington, now it is in the heart of the city. Linden Grove Cemetery is still there, bearing the name given it sixty years ago.

At the corner of 11th and Russell streets stands the home in which Ezekiel Gilman Robinson and later Duncan R. Campbell lived. Further down on Russell between 10th and 11th streets, stands the president's home. Here Pattison and Lynd lived. On 11th street and below Russell stands the Theological Building in which learned and pious Baptist professors gave instruction to enthusiastic students for the Baptist ministry. It is now and has been since 1876 St. Elizabeth's Hospital, under Catholic control, and is one of the most imposing buildings in the city.

"Will we ever know how much the war cost?" The war did not destroy the Western Baptist Theological Institute. The agency in its destruction was slavery and the agitation connected with it—the precursor and the occasion of civil strife. But when we remember the toil and the sacrifice upon which as a foundation this institution reposed, its unusual endowment, the auspicious circumstances which welcomed it into being and the high hopes entertained for it by its founders, the appropriateness of the question as applied to the Institute is immediately recognized.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

The following is the amendment to the original charter which was secured by the Kentucky trustees so as to dislodge the Northern trustees from their control of the Institute.

An act to amend the charter of the Western Baptist Theological Institute at Covington, Ky.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That the charter of the Western Baptist Theological Institute located at Covington, be amended, and that the board of trustees be increased in numbers to the number of 16 above the number now in office, and that the following persons are now appointed members of said board of trustees and clothed with power to manage, control and direct said Institute in conjunction with the trustees now appointed, to-wit: John T. Bush, H. C. Watkins, Leonard Stephens, James Robinson, D. R. Williams, Robert H. Ball, Thos. Y. Payne, Thos. Porter, Henry Wingate, Robert Scott, Arthur Peter, W. W. Gardner, Squire Helm, A. W. Larue, James M. Pendleton and Andrew Broadus.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That in all future appointments of trustees under the charter, the persons appointed shall be citizens of Kentucky and no appointment of a trustee shall be made except at a regular meeting of the trustees, when a majority of all the trustees are present and a majority of said trustees concurring in said appointment.

Sec. 3. Be it further enacted, That no sale shall be made of the estate of said Institute, or any part thereof, except the same be directed at a regular meeting of the trustees—a majority of all the trustees being present—and a majority of all the trustees concurring therein.

Approved January 28, 1848.

Attest: W. D. Reed, Secretary of State.

The above amendment was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Kentucky on February 23, 1853.

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